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INTRABLOC

Polish-GDR Controversy Over Pomeranian Bay, Borders Examined

26000415 Warsaw *PRAWO I ZYCIE* in Polish
No 11, 18 Mar 89 pp 1, 6

[Article by Danuta and Aleksander Wroniszewski: "At the Border Near Swinoujscie"]

[Text] There is no denying that this region of the Pomeranian Bay is very important for the operation of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie complex of ports. The only path of approach linking the port with the high seas traverses this region, also known as the northern region. It is also the so-called site of anchorage, or those designated locations where ships wait their turn to enter Szczecin or Swinoujscie. Anchorage No 1, the shallowest one and the first one built by Poland, receives ships having the lowest displacement. The deeper anchorage No 2, which is located a little higher, is the one most used at present. The newest and northernmost anchorage is the deep-water anchorage No 3. Due to its natural conditions, it has been adapted to receive large oceangoing vessels. While for now it is still not in full use, it is the most important anchorage for the port's future. And it is the subject of the controversy between Poland and the GDR.

Poland's safe and unthreatened borders are clearly a tremendous asset. However, for 3 years the residents of the Szczecin voivodship have been hearing reports of disturbing incidents taking place in the Pomeranian Bay. This news reached the rest of Poland during the past year. It seems that GDR warships have called for our ships to leave the Polish anchorage. Despite warnings, our sailors have refused to do so.

Minister Jerzy Urban has addressed the nature of this controversy several times during press conferences. According to Urban, the Polish government is taking the matter quite seriously and talks are being held with the Germans. Foreign affairs minister Tadeusz Olechowski also referred to these talks in the Sejm on 24 February. What is behind this misunderstanding with our neighbor, with whom we are on otherwise friendly terms? In Szczecin itself there is no shortage of people well versed in maritime law; many people there also remember the historic moment, not so long ago, when the new borders of the Republic were established. Generally they share the opinion of eminent Szczecin journalist Stefan Janusiewicz, who says: "Historically and morally, we are in the right. However, we must realize that our officials at various levels, both at the time that the borders were defined and during later bilateral agreements, were not meticulous, were not skilled at stating matters precisely and perhaps were even unimaginative. They made a number of errors that are now having unfortunate consequences. I know that many Szczecin residents believe the GDR to be evil, declaring their friendship while, at

the same time, acting in an unfriendly way towards us. But to view the matter objectively, we should not blame GDR authorities for administering state interests."

A Concurrence of Views

During the stormy period at the end of World War II, great historic events and issues of extremely vital importance to nations were expressed by means of very ordinary human gestures. Stalin's finger, pointing to the place where the Polish border turns away from the center of the Oder waters and passes over to its left side, stopped west of Swinoujscie. Truman placed his triangle in an identical manner and Churchill verbally described the same border. This concurrence of views so expressed by the representatives of the three great powers with regard to the western border of Poland was later stated legally in the 10th chapter of the Potsdam agreement: "...the former German territory east of a line running from the Baltic Sea directly to the west of Swinoujscie, and from there along the Oder River to its confluence with the Western Nysa and along the Western Nysa to the Czechoslovak border...."

The next step was for the Russian-Polish delimitation commission to make the phrase "directly to the west" a concrete line on the map. It could not be set up exactly according to the "Truman triangle" because this would have done such things as divide peasant farms in half. The most complicated problem to resolve was the distance of the border from Swinoujscie. How many kilometers to the west should it be? Taking into account the need to delimit territorial waters as well (according to the convention of maritime law, such delimitation should be conducted perpendicularly to the coastline), the most convenient border point was...a church tower in Ahlbeck. The members of the commission were split in their opinions. In the end, the opinion that won out said that splitting a small town, and its church, by a state border could cause various problems in the future. Thus, when the final delimitation decision was made, the land border was moved from Ahlbeck to the east. Taking into account that if the sea border was drawn perpendicular to the coast, a 3-mile belt of GDR territorial waters would then include a part of the fairway leading to Swinoujscie as well as the anchorage for this port, it was decided to move the boundary line 7 cable-lengths (about 1300 meters) to the west from the axis of the fairway. Thus, the territorial waters of both states were divided so that the fairway leading to Swinoujscie and the anchorage were found in territorial waters or in international waters on the open seas.

Bilateral agreements between Poland and the GDR sealed this decision: the Zgorzelec Treaty, signed on 6 July 1950, defined the border set at Potsdam as an "inviolable border of peace and friendship," and the agreement on the delimitation of territorial waters, signed in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder on 27 January 1951, accepted the proposed division, recognizing Poland's economic interest as indisputable.

At the time, no one paid any attention to an unfortunate statement located in the final record of the agreement that defined the route of the sea border "from meridian border marker No 923, the borderline turns away from the stretch of land at a directional angle of 10g58c86cc and runs in a straight line along the territorial waters to a point 6 nautical miles from the seacoast. The position in degrees of the endpoint in the territorial seas is 54 degrees 01 minutes 12 seconds north, 14 minutes [sic!] 15 minutes 16 seconds east."

An Unfortunate Point

While this point de facto did not lie within the territorial waters of either of the interested states, the clumsy wording later allowed the GDR a very free interpretation of the text of the agreement. In 1968, during negotiations on the route of the line dividing the continental shelf of Poland and GDR, German specialists already spoke of it as the "endpoint of the territorial seas," the base point for the setting of a further delimitation line. In this way, a portion of the fairway 18.4 nautical miles in length and four-fifths of anchorage No 2 (identified within the framework of a joint capital spending project as "the construction of an approach to Swinoujscie") lay within the GDR continental shelf. The anchorage was so identified despite the fact that since 1965, sounding, mine-sweeping and dredging projects had been underway in the northern Polish approach, that, in accordance with article 6 paragraph 2 of the Geneva Convention, could constitute a special circumstance justifying drawing a border that is more to our advantage. This early on, the new situation already created some problems for servicing the fairway. Real problems arose, however, after 1976, when the Polish Steamship Company put into service the "panamax" bulk carriers, 230-meter giants with a displacement of 75,000 DWT and a maximum draft of 14 meters. These could not sail into the existing anchorage, which was too shallow. Thus, it became necessary to mark out a new, deeper anchorage and a deep-water fairway at natural depths within a stretch of water that reached from Sassnitz to the buoy Swinoujscie-N, thus joining this section with the new deep-water anchorage and northern fairway.

Since, as we have noted, for nearly 10 years all these sea areas had been located within the GDR continental shelf, the German authorities had to approve the necessary hydrographic work.

In the meantime, on 17 December 1977, Poland extended the belt of its territorial seas to 12 miles. Undoubtedly, this decision reflected a tendency that occurred following World War II. At that time, socialist states and developing countries proposed 12-mile territorial waters; however, this problem was not resolved during the two Geneva conferences due to the opposition of the United States and certain "seabound states." An added "indiscretion" was the lack of a prior agreement with neighboring states on this issue. It was assumed that

"side" sea borders would be determined later, by negotiations with the interested states. Talks with USSR authorities led in December 1985 to the initialing of agreements and in July 1986, to the signing of a corresponding agreement. Similar talks with the GDR begun in 1978 yielded no results; the shelf agreement disadvantageous to Poland was not even revised during these negotiations. The Germans were also unyielding on the question of the fairway and anchorage No 3. Negotiations continued, but neither a special consultation of specialists from hydrographic services in November 1978, nor the annual joint plenums of the GDR Navigation Office and the PRL Maritime Office made a bit of progress on the issue. While it is true that on 20 April 1984, the GDR authorities agreed to a sounding along the fairway, this decision was more symbolic than real, since the Germans did not agree to the minesweeping of the fairway and the hydrographic sounding and mine-sweeping of anchorage No 3. However, this sea area continued to be in regular use. The Germans were aware of this and did not seem to find it a problem.

On 1 January 1985, the legal situation in this region of the sea changed diametrically. On that day, an executive decree of the GDR Council of Ministers went into effect. The decree was based on the law concerning the state border of the GDR under which the GDR territorial waters were extended from 3 to 12 nautical miles. This decision came as a complete surprise to the Polish side; nonetheless, the announcement of this information on the new route of the border in official navigation periodicals gave it the air of legality. In this way the world learned the news that the territorial waters of our neighbors included: three-fourths of the deep-water approach to the Szczecin-Swinoujscie group of ports, anchorage No 3, four-fifths of the deeper area of anchorage No 2 and approximately 30 km sq of Poland's ocean fishing zone. This meant that whether the depth of the Polish fairway would remain at the borders of 14.5 meters, whether we would be able to use the fairway and anchorage unrestrictedly, set out and remove the buoys marking the fairway for the pack ice season and the like would depend on the good will of the German authorities.

One cannot imagine that Poland could accept such a situation. On 5 February 1985, the director of the Maritime Office in Szczecin directed a letter to Jerzy Korzonek, head of the Office of Maritime Management, in which he noted that the current route of the sea border between Poland and the GDR delimited unilaterally by the latter endangers the vital interests of the PRL and that this matter should be taken up in talks between the two states at the highest level.

In the same letter, the director in chief of the Maritime Office in Szczecin likewise presented a detailed proposals for delimiting the territorial waters between the PRL and the GDR within the framework of a 12-mile belt and a draft of a border route of the GDR territorial waters along the northern fairway leading to the Swinoujscie-Szczecin group of ports.

In the opinion of engineer Jozef Stebnicki, captain of internal navigation, the border should run at a distance of 6 cable-lengths (1111 meters) to the west of the axis of approach of the fairway to Swinoujscie. Moreover, the agreement on the delimitation of the continental shelf should be modified so that the approval of the GDR would not have to be received each time for any work done within the Polish approach to Swinoujscie and the anchorages.

He emphasized that the argument favoring this solution is the manner in which the GDR established the border of the territorial waters with regard to the FRG fairway leading to Travemunde and the deep-water Danish fairway "Ruty T." In both cases, the border was set at a distance of at least 6 cables from the fairway. As a result of this, the territorial waters ran so low that only in a few places was the planned breadth of 12 nautical miles achieved (by comparison with the FRG fairway, the minimum distance is only 3 miles and by comparison with the Danish fairway, it is 6 nautical miles).

The voivodship political authorities fully supported the position of the Maritime Office. Two weeks later, the PRL government, in a diplomatic note, refused to recognize the new sea border of the GDR in the Pomeranian Bay area. Evidently the note was not taken seriously, however, as is clear from the further legal documents published in the GDR. On 1 June 1986, a third executive decree to the law on the state border, signed by GDR chairman of the Council of Ministers Willi Stoph, went into effect. Paragraph 13 of the decree treats of the waterways around Rugen and the navigation route to the port in Swinoujscie, while paragraph 14 authorizes the minister of transportation to change the navigation routes.

"Change" does not preclude closing these navigation routes. This includes the routes to the Swinoujscie port noted in the decree. Anyone who knows that, apart from the northern fairway, all sea routes east of Rugen are too shallow to allow large ships to sail into the Szczecin-Swinoujscie group of ports realizes the seriousness of this threat. It would result in their degradation.

"This would bear disastrous consequences for the economy of the voivodship," says, Zbigniew Graczyk, director of the PZPR KW Department of Maritime Management and Transportation in Szczecin. "Of the 950,000 residents of Szczecin, half are tied in professionally with the sea. The largest Polish Steamship Company ship-owner is located here. The Higher Maritime School, the Warski repair and industrial shipyards, the Gryf, Transocean, Odra-Swinoujscie and Rybex plants and many plants that coproduce with shipyards and ports are located here. About 70 percent of the goods transit and more than 70 percent of the international passenger travel currently passes through the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port. The sea ferriage base in Swinoujscie is a potential, but as yet unused gold mine in transit services. The group of ports concentrates about 40 percent of Poland's

maritime economic potential and has a well-developed, self-financing half of the deep sea and land processing. For this reason, for years it has constituted serious competition for German ports, especially the GDR port of Rostock. In the 1980's, the deep-water port in Mukran took on our port as a still more closely located rival. It has a permanent ferriage line to Klaipeda. Following Gorbachev's visit, Szczecin has real potential for a similar link with Leningrad.

In Accordance With the Convention

"This is why the matter of the route of the border in the Pomeranian Bay must be resolved," points out Zbigniew Graczyk. "The construction of a new fairway is unfeasible; such a capital spending project could be compared to the building of the Suez Canal. Nor can we accept the GDR's current proposal for the free use of our fairway and our anchorage in their territorial waters and under their supervision."

The 1982 maritime law convention, which in article 3 permits the extension of territorial waters to 12 nautical miles, at the same time orders in article 15 that in the case of "states with contiguous or opposite borders," this should take place on the basis of an agreement. Where this cannot be achieved, the convention allows the delimitation of waters to be effected by a unilateral document using a "median line" that divides the area exactly in two. However, it is possible to depart from this procedure if "for historical reasons or other special circumstances it is necessary to delimit the territorial waters of both these states in a different manner." The exclusive dependence of the port on maintaining waterways that provide it with a link to the open sea and the considerations of fishing safety are such "special circumstances." There is no doubt that we have proof of "historical reasons" and a "special economic circumstance."

Captain Stebnicki, director of the Maritime Office, bases yet another proposal for resolving this dispute on this convention. He says that according to article No 12, the roads on which the loading, unloading and anchorage of ships normally take place, and which otherwise would be located entirely or partly outside the external bounds of the territorial seas, are included in the territorial seas. Recently, the FRG made use of this article. At the beginning of 1985, it delimited a deep-water anchorage at a distance of 20 miles from the shore, later expanding its territorial waters in this place to include not only the anchorage but also the approach to the ports of Wilhelmshaven, Bremen, Hamburg and the Kiel Canal. The neighbors made no claims since international law provides for such measures.

The Polish authorities find the problem serious. It is known that Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke on this issue with Erich Honecker during last year's meeting in Wroclaw. Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, during the Sejm address spoken of previously, placed the issue of delimiting the

seas areas in the Pomeranian Bay at the top of the list of specific problems on which the government wishes to focus its attention in relations with socialist countries. In speaking of some progress in the negotiations the minister stressed the need to intensify talks in order to arrive at constructive solutions, in accordance with the principle of the mutual respect for national interests.

Minister Olechowski pointed out: "For a long time now, there have not been any incidents in the Pomeranian Bay area. The navigation of Polish and foreign ships into the Szczecin-Swinoujscie ports has been taking place normally. These ships are using the traditional waterways and anchorages without hindrance. This is the result of agreements between Poland and the GDR that state that navigation in this area of the Pomeranian Gulf being discussed in the negotiations should take place in the same manner as it did before the expansion by both sides of their territorial waters."

Poles in Romania: Problems in Maintaining Culture, Identity

26000397 Warsaw *PRAWO I ZYCLE* in Polish
No 46, 12 Nov 88 pp 12-13

[Article by Jerzy Slawomir Mac: "Before the Bulldozers Come to the Polish Villages"]

[Text] To those who will soon, in traveling by car to Bulgaria or Turkey, drive through Romania: Sacrifice those five liters of the most expensive gasoline under the sun and deviate a bit from the highway. Not much, a dozen or so kilometers all told. Go and visit the Polish villages at Romanian Bukowina—and say good-bye to them just in case. Next year they may not be there anymore.

Eight kilometers beyond the present border town of Seret (Siret in Romanian), inhabited by 150 Polish families, one has to turn right onto a second class road that moves abruptly toward Kimpolung (Cimpalung), a city of 40,000 people with a settlement of Poles, the most distant from the Romania-Soviet border, numbering about 100 people. In these two towns that mark the two points of the Polish triangle on Romanian soil—the third is Suczawa, the present capital of Bukowina after Czerniowice found itself in Soviet territory—one cannot see or hear Poles; they melt into the crowds of many thousands. But after a 20-minute drive from Seret, it is enough to stop at the train station in Radowce (Radauti). At the ticket counter, if you see a girl with a thick blond braid, with a classic peaches and cream complexion, not like a Romanian, tell her "dzien dobry." She is Anna Szyszko, one of 300 countrymen in Radowce.

Now one has to find the sign showing the way to Vicsani. The route shown—almost impassable during a lengthy spell of bad weather—leads to Ruda, a village almost completely Polish with 50 addresses and 250 residents. It

is not much different from other poor Bukowina villages—perhaps only in the abundance of flowers and the Catholic Church of the Queen of the Polish Kingdom, squeezed between buildings but without a permanent pastoral staff. Only once a year, on 3 May, is there an indulgence here, the feast of Polishness of this lost village.

The children playing along the road cry out in a rather strange Romanian-Polish "volapuk" whose first component they brought from school, the other only from home, since there is no additional study of Polish in the school here. The older people speak a pure but charmingly anachronistic Polish unembellished with 20th Century neologisms, a language like the one used by inhabitants of the Sandomierz region at the turn of the century. It is from there, from the village of Ruda near Kolbuszowa, that the residents of Bukowina's Ruda come, brought here not quite a hundred years ago by the owner of the Vicsani farm. Without a Polish school or library, without a weekly mass in Polish, with a few prayerbooks and books read to death, with ragged copies of Polish newspapers kept for years (PRZYJACIOLKA predominates, today the only Polish periodical that one can buy in Romania)—through the fifth generation they have cultivated the language and traditions of Polish Galicia, although sometimes it happens that their realities are confused.

"Did you come straight from Poland? So tell me, how do Krakow and Lwow look?" says the village elder, Grandmother "Stasza," as they call her, who was last in Poland in 1937, but later never had an opportunity.

From Ruda a straight road leads to Kaczyca (Cacica), a large village, actually a small town, with over 1,000 people. Half of them—about 600 people—are Poles who came from near Wieliczka. It was from there at the end of the 18th century that a number of mining families were brought here to work in the local salt mine. Today it employs—in rather inferior positions—more than a hundred Poles. The rest live off farms devoted mainly to cattle and sheep raising.

The latter say proudly, "We are Poles," and in their peasant huts, often still covered with straw, they still try to speak and pray in the language of Mickiewicz, although in order to admonish a child effectively, they must speak Romanian. The former, involved in various mine structures, generally do not know the language of their forebears, except for prayers.

In Kaczyca, too—because of the lack of a school, library or Polish club, Polishness is focused around the church called the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, built in 1903 by Polish Pauline Fathers and operated by them until 1967. When the last Polish pastor died, the authorities sent in his place a priest of Romanian extraction who celebrates mass in that language and says only basic prayers in Polish. On 15 August of every year, Kaczyca is transformed into a Bukowina Czestochowa, attracting

pilgrims from all over the "Polish triangle," inhabited by over 1,000 families, about 5,000 people, who have the Polish nationality inscribed in the proof of their identify. Only the sick and infirm elderly stay home on that day.

"This is a great event, a chance to sing Polish songs, to get together with distant relatives and friends from other towns where for most of the year there is no access, with the Polish priest from Soloniec and with people who have had the good fortune to go to Poland," says Mr. Adamiak, a Kaczyca farmer who unofficially fulfills the functions of Polish administrator for this town.

With fairly regular communications between Bukowina's Polonia and the old country are two Anielas, graduates in Polish studies from Jagiellonia University. They teach Polish in the only three schools offering the language. These schools are located in three neighboring villages surrounding the little town of Gura Humorului and constituting the best maintained ethnographic Polish island in Romania. Ms. Juraszek is in Pojanka and Plesza and Ms. Droszczak-Krupacz is in Nowy Soloniec (Solenentul Nou). Every few years they have an opportunity to participate in month long courses for Polonia teachers organized in Lublin.

Plesza (Plesa), situated on a hill and crowned by the solid mass of the church of St Anne, has 60 exclusively Polish families (about 300 people). The presence of the Polish school means that even the children and young people call and cry out in fairly standard Polish, more pleasing to the ear than the Vistulan because it is not interspersed with the regionalism of the stressed "k," "p" or "ch." They are not in danger of such Romanianization as their contemporaries from Kaczyca or the nearby gmina village of Gura Humora (Gura Humorului), inhabited by 40 Polish families, if only because of the lack of Romanian contemporaries.

The notion of a "Polish school" is rather conventional in any case. As in Pojana and Soloniec, it is an ordinary common school with instruction in Romanian (although the teachers are almost without exception local Poles), except with a curriculum expanded by several hours a week of the Polish language. Instruction in Polish goes on with textbooks published by Romanian educational authorities and written by their Slavic scholars. On the title page of these textbooks is this sentence in Polish: "Our Fatherland—the Socialist Republic of Romania."

Polish is an elective subject but there is not one family that would not send its children to lessons in the mother tongue, despite the realization that this makes their start in life more difficult. Because according to Romanian law, all children from minority families (Hungarian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Polish, Jewish, Slovakian, etc.) who have studied the language of their nationalities must, when applying for acceptance to secondary schools, pass an additional examination in Romanian.

In Pojana Mikuli (Poina Micului), beautifully situated in the foothills and inhabited by 120 Polish families (about 600 people), besides the "Polish" school and church there is also a library with several hundred volumes operated by Ms Genowefa Balak. Given the shortage of money to buy new books, every donation from Poles passing infrequently through or from our embassy in Bucharest, which also supplies Polish textbooks that make Polish language, history and geography lessons much more attractive, is priceless.

Pojana's rival for the unwritten title of capital of Polish Bukowina is Nowy Soloniec, inhabited by about 1,000 people who indicated Polish nationality on questionnaires. Mixed with Ukrainian and German minorities and a few Romanians, they predominate numerically and clearly give the town its flavor. Here a Polish folklore group operates, here it often happens that on announcements posted near shops and farm cooperatives one can see informational handbills in Polish, and here also resides Rev Kazimierz Kotylewicz, grandson of a January rebel, who serves, once every third Sunday in rotation, the churches in Soloniec, Pojana and Plesza. For the past 20 years he was the only Polish priest in Romania and only in the past year has he had the help of two young vicars.

In fairness one must add that there is a Catholic church in Gura Humorului that serves mainly the German minority in that town whose pastor—a German—also speaks and hears confessions in Polish.

In Soloniec, one can encounter the most people who have families in Poland, repatriated immediately after World War II. They maintain contact with them by mail or, less frequently, in person, and rather unilaterally, when someone from Poland manages to travel here. One can also encounter several people who, having left for the regained territories after the war for Wroclaw or Zielona Gora (the land of their forebears was left outside Poland's new borders), came back to Bukowina after several years. Today their children do not command that decision.

The Polish population of Soloniec, Pojana and Plesza comes from Zaolzie. Their ancestors came here at the beginning of this century under the settlement action executed by the Hapsburg Empire which governed Zaolzie and Bukowina at the time. They found unpopulated, barren land which they soon transformed into a piece of Poland.

In the 20 year interwar period of revitalized Polish-Romanian contacts, Pojana became a popular summer resort. A large Polish House, luxurious for its time, with a pool, was built. In the years 1937-39 special vacation trains from Warsaw and Krakow via Lwow traveled there. Unfortunately, the Polish House burned down during the war and today not a trace of it remains. But hundreds of Polish houses in many Romanian villages and towns remain, houses whose fate is very uncertain.

The situation of Romanian Polonia after the second world war has never been easy, although there have been better and worse periods.

But it has not reached the point of establishment of a Polish social and cultural society as in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria or Hungary, although Romanian Polonia is at least twice as numerous as Bulgarian Polonia. Nor is there a Polish center for information and culture in Bucharest, around which, in Sofia for example, the lives of Poles living in Bulgaria center. There are also enormous difficulties created by the Romanian authorities with sending Polish children living in Bukowina to summer camps in Poland. In recent years this opportunity has practically ceased.

On 29 April of this year the government of the Romanian Socialist Republic announced a "territorial systemization" plan whereby 8,000 of 13,000 villages are to disappear from the face of the country by the year 2000. Their inhabitants will be combined and resettled to 500 "agricultural-industrial centers." The list of villages expected to be liquidated has not been announced, so it is not known whether this fate will also befall the five genuinely Polish villages in Bukowina—Nowy Soloniec, Pojana, Plesza, Ruda and Kaczyca. "Logically, it probably will, since the plan also includes old Romanian villages," reasons director Juniewicz of Department I of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As is known (we have also written about this in our columns), this plan has met with strong protests in Hungary—the country of the largest national minority—more than 2 million people living in Romania. As a result, a Rumanian-Hungarian summit, whose consequences were unequivocal, was held. Criticism of the "systemization" plan has also appeared in the German, Yugoslav and French press.

For the time being, native Romanian villages from the Bucharest region have gone into the first fire. Bulldozers are destroying village huts, holdings, churches, community centers and cemeteries, tearing up community roots and preparing the ground under new crops. People are moved to hastily erected concrete blocks. This is occurring at a genuinely Romanian pace, the same one at which the monumental Administrative Center was erected on the site of the demolished old town in Bucharest.

It is hard to predict when the bulldozers will reach Siedmiograd, Banat, Dobrudza and Bukowina, the villages inhabited by Hungarian, German, Serbian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian and Polish minorities. So just in case, if one still wants to see a piece of Poland on Romanian soil, one had better hurry.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG Reporter Investigates Elbe Pollution
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[Article by Marlies Menge: "The Ailing River"]

[Text] The idea for the journey came to me on the western bank because of a sign an innkeeper had placed in front of his restaurant at the embankment: "Absolutely no Elbe fish!" Formerly, the nearby river was an advertisement for fresh fish. Since the guests know how many poisons are floating in it, they have lost their appetite. "But I love the Elbe nevertheless," said the man, "after all, I grew up with it, learned how to swim in it, from one bank to the other." Meanwhile the river has become much too dirty to bathe in. So I ate fish, but not Elbe fish, and looked across the Elbe River to the other bank: to the GDR.

The restaurant is situated on that part of the Elbe River, between Schnackenburg and Lauenburg, which is the cause that the Germans don't jointly take care of the ailing river, because they are fighting over where the border runs in this area. The GDR wants it in the middle of the river, the FRG wants it at the eastern bank. De facto the GDR has long been using the [river] half it claims, for its border patrol boats, for example. In the meantime, the reasonable people seem to have gained ground who want to separate the one issue from the other and want to help the Elbe. At least that is what it sounded like after Minister Schaeuble's last visit with Erich Honecker.

I wanted to travel along the Elbe River and talk with people about the river—from Schmilka, where it flows from the CSSR into the GDR, to Boizenburg where it bids farewell again to the GDR. The journey was no problem. But the official partners in conversation were. Since the "ordinance for securing secret protection in the area of environmental data," only sparse information on this subject filters through. West German friends said that in our country, also, politicians and industry prefer to withhold such data. That was little consolation for me. I collected articles in which the key word "Elbe" appeared, for example the dying of the seals in the North Sea. Western journalists wrote that 90 percent of the toxins reaching the North Sea from the Elbe river come from the GDR and the CSSR. GDR newspapers in turn scolded the FRG as one of the biggest polluters of the North Sea, and with pleasure listed the enormous amounts of heavy metals, thin acids and chlorinated hydrogens which the FRG adds to the sea. From GDR Minister for the Environment Reichelt I learned that the Elbe's catchment area with its tributaries constitutes about three-quarters of the GDR. Thus the river is the GDR's most important water resource. It is, therefore, not only a matter of industry and agriculture on the banks of the Elbe, but also of those on the Mulde and Saale, Schwarze Elster and Havel. The toxins in the Elbe

River also come from the Buna chemical works, the Schwarzheide synthetics plant, the Espenhain brown coal processing plant, the Bitterfeld chemical combine, the Leuna works, the Wolfen photochemical plant, and from the brown coal mining areas. Reichelt wrote that last year, in the Bitterfeld chemical plant pollution was reduced by 1,000 tons of ammonia, 143 tons of phenols, and 20 tons of tin; in Espenhain and Boehlen, 330 fewer tons of phenols or 5,000 fewer tons of mineral oils, respectively, had entered the waters than at the beginning of the 1980's. Figures that frighten me, rather: How much may there have been before? How much is there still?

I would have liked to ask: people in charge of water and environment in someone from water management, the state water control or from the ministry for the environment, who perhaps could have told me how many and which heavy metals or organic substances flow from which enterprises into the Elbe River, and what Germans in East and West could do about it.

Everyone knows by now that harmful substances do not stop at borders. If the FRG helps the GDR with environmental protection, it helps itself. Certainly, it won't be cheap. GDR environmental expert Schaefer estimates, for instance, the costs for cleaning up only the upper course of the Elbe at over 6 billion marks and proposes that Bonn help the GDR with 1 billion marks.

The upper course, that is the region around Dresden, from Schmilka to Riesa—the part of the Elbe that can still be navigated with one of the last steam-powered paddle-wheelers of Europe, passing the majestic rocks of the Elbe sandstone mountains, the Koenigstein fortress, the Lilienstein, where the Elbe River is so idyllic that one could forget how many toxins hazardous to health it is already carrying here.

My journey starts at Koenigstein. Koenigstein is also the name of a small town with a state-owned factory for fine paper, about which I had read that it recovers cellulose in an effective manner as a derivative. Now I am here, stroll by it, see only how clear the Biela—a small mountain stream which later flows into the Elbe—flows into the factory, and how much dirtier it comes out again. In the next village water ripples across the road. A sign warns: "Caution—Broken Pipe." The pipes in bezirk Dresden are superannuated. Often, breaks in pipes are not repaired for weeks. "And that doesn't exactly encourage economical handling of water in house and garden," says a woman who, like me, watches the gushing pipe. Whatever intact pipes are available are needed for new construction and industry. Rust in the pipes brings heavy metals such as copper and zinc into the drinking water.

The FDJ newspaper JUNGE WELT wrote on the occasion of World Environment Day, "if one walks along the Elbe near Pirna, sometimes one can discover white foam on the water which comes from the bleach waste waters of the Pirna-Heidenau United Cellulose Works. Here in

the upper Elbe valley, in the the area of Pirna-Dresden, our republic's largest river is heavily polluted by industry, agriculture and waste water from cities." Not for nothing did the Council of Ministers decide that something had to be done urgently about waste water pollution. Venerable old factory buildings stand in Heidenau. Only the rayon factory is new. The chemicals used in the production of rayon are also a health hazard. Pipes from the cellulose factory cross the street. From a pipe right next to the street flows black slop into the river. It smells unpleasant. Only 70 meters farther along is the next piping-in. The water changes to dark brown. Chlorine bleach, which gives us sparkling white paper, is particularly hard on the environment. To bleach with ozone would be much easier on the environment. But, say the experts in the GDR, it would make production uneconomical.

Environmental protectionists consider the piping-in at Heidenau also particularly questionable because shortly thereafter, namely at the Hosterwitz waterworks, drinking water is taken from the Elbe. The new buildings of large-panel construction can be seen from easily the road. They are still shells: an extension which later is to put out 80,000 cubic meters of water of better quality than the present 60,000 cubic meters per day. One cubic meter of drinking water costs 45 pfennigs in the GDR, waste water treatment 30 pfennigs. The state chips in with big subsidies. Doesn't the low price of water teach asocial behavior? ask GDR friends. If water were expensive, would industry not apply technologies using less water or no water at all? Water is also precious for the reason that the GDR is one of the arid regions of Europe. In regions with high industrial density water is used up to eight times.

The "Hausberg" cafe in Pillnitz with the beautiful view over the Elbe is closed because of a "change in the day off." I drink coffee in the vineyard inn, get into conversation with a man drinking beer. Did I know that one needs 2,000 liters of water for 100 liters of beer, 1,200 liters for 1 kilogram of bread, 2,500 liters for 1 kilogram of sugar, about 500 liters for one head of cabbage? If one just thinks of artificial irrigation...In the evening I visit friends in Dresden. They tell me that meanwhile it is publicly admitted that the unpleasant phenol taste is typical for Dresden's drinking water. The people of Dresden hardly trust their drinking water any more, they buy more and more mineral water. Dresden is supplied with drinking water from five waterworks. About half of it comes from the Elbe.

Nevertheless, in Dresden it can happen that environmental problems are called by their name, in the CDU newspaper UNION, for example, which recently dealt with sloppiness in a state-owned motor vehicle accessories enterprise in Radebeul. Workers let cutting emulsion and rust-removing caustic run off into the sluice. The enterprise took a stand on the accusations: Their personnel had never received orders to do so. On the second inspection of water control, the oil drum objected to on

the first visit was still there. The soil all around it was soaked with oil; the tank truck for the emulsion stood next to the gully. Administrative penalties were imposed. Or the case in the Freital leather works, which had drained more chromium than permitted into the water and last year had to pay a fine of over 5 million marks to the VEB water and waste water treatment.

There is state water control. It can inspect at any time and impose fines up to 25,000 Marks in case of infractions. But usually it is cheaper. My friends tell me they had heard about a fine of 13.60 marks for dumping 1 kilogram of heavy metals above the agreed-upon amount; of only 5 Marks for 1 kilogram of oil and grease. Achieving the plan target is always more important. "With you it is the too-much, with us the too-little that creates ecological problems," my friends complain. At an evening lecture on the subject of water in the Klub der Intelligenz [Club of the Intelligentsia] one of the water management scientists says that today, 3,000 herbicides are being analyzed, by 1990 it would probably be 10,000. As if the biggest problem were science that can furnish more and more proof. Formerly, the TGL (abbreviation for technical quality and supply conditions) only determined odor, taste, and color; now there are 80 differentiations. Some harmful substances, say my friends, are still not being listed, such as chlorine organic substances and pesticides, but also not all heavy metals. Next year, the GDR is to get a new quality norm for water. GDR scientists also consider an Elbe cleanup indispensable. They are developing ecologically safe procedures. With active carbon, 60 percent of the toxins could be removed from the water. But purifying even half of Dresden's drinking water with the aid of active coal would cost between 30 to 50 million Marks. In the public bezirk seminar in Dresden on the topic of water it was admitted that more than half a million people are not supplied with drinking water according to the TGL, that nitrate pollution is a special worry, that the amount of waste water, particularly in the cellulose industry, is not being reduced enough.

I spend the night at the Elbe, in the "Bellevue," the posh hotel for customers with foreign currency, and enjoy the view of the Elbe, the Semper opera house, court church, castle ruin, Bruehl terrace. I even go swimming—no, not in the Elbe, in the hotel swimming pool, probably in carefully purified Elbe water. At the "Bellevue" the Elbe River bank has been made into a park. Three young people mow the lawn. Another sprays exotic shrubs—with drinking water. In the center of Dresden so far there is no supply of utility water for industry or parks. Last winter, staff members of Greenpeace spent the night at the "Bellevue." They had traveled to Dresden with a tourist group, had visited the Semper opera just like the others. In the suitcase they had a banner, 30 by 5 meters in size, which read: "Harmful substances know no borders. Dresden-Hamburg-North Sea." They had it flutter in the center of Dresden from the Georgy-Dimitroff bridge. They wanted to protest the fact that the GDR had not been invited to the second North Sea protection

conference in London. They stood for 2 hours on the bridge with their banner without anything happening, except for passers-by expressing their sympathy. Frozen to the bone, the Greenpeace people finally rolled up their banner and left. They also distributed leaflets and drinking water surveys (45 drinking water samples, predominantly from the Elbe catchment area—tested for heavy metals and chlorinated or mixed chlorinated/brominated solvents—contained mercury, chromium, nickel, chloroform, trichlorethylene and bromium dichloromethane). At their departure, one woman of the group was interrogated for half an hour. Since then, she and other Greenpeace staff are no longer allowed to enter the GDR.

In the Kreuzkirche [Church of the Cross] hangs a tablet of the ecological working group of the Dresden church parishes: "Drink water from the Elbe," with seven samples of water from the Elbe, some clear, others brown or black. In a notebook, visitors penned their opinion: "Nature does not need us, but we need Nature," it says, and "When finally will the fines and profits of enterprises no longer flow into the same big pot but be used to remove the damage done?" Or: "Perestroyka in ecological questions of the GDR. It is time, for it is shortly before 12 [o'clock]!" Someone from Hamburg writes: "We must act together and not allocate blame across the borders and systems."

The road to Radebeul passes by Kaditz. Here stands a purification installation which, according to a resolution by the Council of Ministers, by 1990 was to have received a first expansion stage for biological purification. In 1984 there were three blows with a hammer. That was all. At a 1987 ecology forum people from Dresden learned that the purification plant had not been working since the beginning of the year in order to make reconstruction possible. But it does not look as if there were any construction going on. There is a rumor that the construction start has been postponed for 3 years. Actually, at the beginning of the century the Kaditz purification plant was considered the most modern in Europe, with prepurification stages including raking, with mechanical purification: Later, storage basins and fermentation towers were built to produce biogases. Experts say the Kaditz plant could have been further expanded. But in expectation of the new plant, the old one was so neglected that everything functioned less and less. So the communal and industrial waste waters of this city of 600,000 inhabitants flow directly and almost unpurified into the Elbe River.

From Dresden to Meissen I can travel directly along the Elbe. Geese are swimming in the river. High above the town towers the castle where porcelain was once invented. In Nieschuetz a restaurant is called "Weingarten" [Vineyard]. Actually, wine is growing on the slopes. In Nuenchritz, the VEB chemical plant affects the Elbe River. On the other bank, the enormous Riesa steel and rolling mill looms in the landscape. Then it becomes rural. I drive along the embankment. In Muehlberg I

want to cross over, but a sign says: "Ferry not in operation." A Czech barge slowly passes by. A man is fishing for European roach [a type of whitefish]. "Hardly anything else can survive in the Elbe River," says he. Does he eat the fish? "I am not suicidal." But then why does he fish? "I have done it all my life, and I'll go on doing so. I can relax best that way." And, after all, one can give the fish to the cats.

In his book "Beauty of the Rivers and Lakes," GDR author Rainer Gilsenbach writes about the great whitefish: "When the Elbe River was still clean, its schools swam upriver from the North Sea...Today any whitefish would suffocate in the Elbe water, it has become so dirty and lacking in oxygen." The trip goes on through villages. A stringent odor assails my nose. "Pigs," I determine, and read a little later: "ZBE pig fattening station Doebelitz/kreis Torgau." Although enormous storage capacities for liquid manure are being built, damage occurs time and again. Ever more meat is being eaten, ever larger livestock stables are being built, ever more liquid manure is being produced, and hence ever more nitrate gets into the water. I heard about a tinkerer who built a manure reactor for heating purposes in his backyard. But he doesn't know yet how he is going to get the liquid manure into the reactor.

"No crossing during fog," it says on the sign of the Elbe ferry at Elster, and "riders of small motorcycles, bicyclists and horsemen" have to dismount before boarding the ferry. "It is 61 kilometers on the Elbe River from Torgau to Wittenberg," says the ferryman, "in between there are three car ferries: in Pretsch, Dommitsch, and here." In Pretsch, a 79-year-old man swims daily in the Elbe River. "Imagine that: in that slop!" I pass the gigantic stables of the LPG "Red Star." It smells of cows. They are grazing on the meadows behind the embankment. Next to the road grow corn and turnips. On the road is an "agrochemical center" which provides chemical fertilization and pest control. A shepherd with sheep and dogs moves across a harvested field. It is very quiet.

Before the bridge at Wittenberg an area is fenced off, where behind the stone walls Soviet troops are stationed in barracks. Wittenberg, everyone associates it with Luther who in 1517 is said to have nailed his 95 theses to the door of the castle church. Who thinks of the "Pisternitz VEB agrochemistry combine?" It is a sunny Sunday morning. Mist hangs over the surrounding area of the plant. Smokestacks blow their dirt into the air. Light gray dust covers the roofs and streets. Environment Protection Minister Reichelt recently said that in the Piesteritz chemical combine, different from 4 years ago, more than triple the amount of nitrogen is withheld from the waste water; but he did not add how much still remains. I talk with a canoeist of the Wittenberg water sports society. He has been paddling since age 14. He loves the Elbe, because of the wide sky above the river and the land. There is always a light breeze, and he likes to look at the gurgling water at the jetties. Of course, one has to be careful not to fall into the river while paddling. It is too dirty for that.

In the Wittenberg town church hangs a tablet with the request for "one mark for clear water," as a contribution to a new purification plant. Before the last election, Wittenbergers wrote to the CDU delegate, pleaded with him to support construction of the purification plant so that the waste waters of the city and industry do not further pollute the Elbe River. The answer by the kreis council listed how much had been built already, such as the new purification ditches and oil separators of the Elbe rubber works. The purification plant in the Piesteritz area, on the other hand, is a very comprehensive investment, one could not say whether it is included in the current plan.

With friends I ride a bicycle along a stretch of the Elbe, passing the wells pumping water from a depth of 80 meters which comes from the glacial valley of the Flaeming River: drinking water for the town. Fog covers the Elbe meadows. On a poplar, the bark has been peeled off at the bottom. It is the work of beavers. A little further on lies a tree felled by them. At one time, the Elbe beavers were threatened with extinction, today they have made a comeback, in such sufficient numbers meanwhile that the GDR exported a few of the animals to the Netherlands to secure there the preservation of the species. "Recently there was a fullfledged war between the beavers and an LPG over a meadow," recounts the Wittenberg man. "At night the beavers built a dam, during the day the farmers removed it, at night the beavers rebuilt it. By now the farmers have given up. The beavers won."

In Coswig I read on a sign: "Cement, fertilizers, sulphuric acid." In Rossau, boys are flying kites. Calbe has a gelatine and glue factory, behind it large basins filled with yellowish sludge. The street leads through the Magdeburg plain. The wind blows especially hard here. Doves of birds assemble for the flight south. In Magdeburg an ecumenical meeting is taking place. I drive to the site of the meeting of the base groups. A young man says that in Magdeburg the supply of drinking water is good. "We get it from Colbitz Heath, from a deep water reservoir not connected to the Elbe River." Perhaps that is the reason that no one here gets as deeply involved in the Elbe as the people of Dresden. I climb stairs, find myself in a room with [statistical] tables, photographs and information on the nuclear power plant under construction near Stendal on the Elbe River. It is to be completed by 1991. The construction swallows 1.25 million marks daily. A man tells me that the Technical University of Magdeburg has developed a fluidized bed furnace which is very much cheaper to produce than a nuclear power plant. It burns 99 percent of brown coal, not just 60 percent as the present furnaces. By adding lime, the sulphur in the coal can be bonded into plaster, which then can be used as construction material. And almost no nitrogen oxide is created.

In Tangermuende I take a guided tour through St. Stephan's church which is so gigantic because Charles IV had his second residence here. Tangermuende once was of great economic importance, was a Hanse member,

was favorable situated on the Elbe River. It is also the town of Grete Minde, the woman innocently condemned to death for alleged arson, whose memory Fontane perpetuated in his novel. The Tangermuende steeple is the highest in the Altmark and offers a beautiful panoramic view of the Elbe lowlands. Slowly the sun fights its way through the fog. Horses frolic on a meadow. An irrigation installation works in the fields. Arneburg, that is the name of the town with the future nuclear power plant. Since Chernobyl, people call it "Arnebyl." I ask a woman the way. "You can't go on here, it is closed off, that's where the nuclear power plant is." One can see it from a distance: New, large and threatening, it is silhouetted against the sky.

Near Havelberg I wait for the ferry. The land is flat. Meadows as far as the eye can see. A pair of swans swims at the other bank. The ferry runs as needed, says the ferrymen, ever less frequently in autumn, and when there is ice, not at all. People pay 25 pfennigs, bicycles cost 40 pfennigs, cars 2 marks. After a few minutes we are on the other side, in Raebel, a village with a dike behind the meadows. High water often floods much of the countryside. At Werben a Gustav Adolf monument recalls the Swedish field camp which secured the Elbe crossing in the Thirty Years' War. Wittenberge makes a sad impression: the streets are full of potholes, many houses are dilapidated, some not even lived in any more. Boys are sailing in tiny boats on the river. I walk through the harbor street, get into the industrial area: "VEB cellulose and rayon works" I read, or "VEB sewing machine plant, "energy combine North," "Mark Brandenburg oil works." Freight barges lie in the harbor.

Near Cummlosen the border area begins. Signs warn: "Prohibited zone, walking and driving forbidden." As of here the Elbe River is the border with the West, secured by high fences and watch towers. Roads near this border mostly can be used only by "adjoining residents and with special permission." Only in Doemitz does traffic again approach the Elbe River. The river can be seen through the border fence. Tourists travel to Doemitz because of the fortress where Fritz Reuter was held. Otherwise, the area here is as quiet as the other side of the Elbe, just as cut off by the border as they are.

For agricultural work along the border, the farmers require permission by the border patrol company. In the spring there was flooding here as on the opposite bank, dike watches had to be held, sites of seepage had to be secured with sandbags. At Jabel I ask a man how I should best drive on. He works between chickens and sheep on the meadow in front of his house: "I moved here from the People's Republic of Saxony," he says, "I do not know." I find Boizenburg even without him, the last point of my journey, formerly the border crossing for transit traffic to Hamburg.

I have seen many kilometers of the Elbe River, industry near cities, in between the fields and meadows of the LPGs. When I recall the trip, I have above all before my

eyes the landscape that again and again made me forget the poisons in the river. Perhaps because knowledge remained rather theoretical, acquired particularly from Greenpeace documents. If need be, cadmium, mercury, lead, chromium, nickel, zinc and arsenic still mean something to me; with toluol, chlorinated carbon hydrogens, polycyclical aromatic compounds and polychlorinated biphenyls I have to pass. None of it sounds particularly appetizing and healthy. Whoever has learned to appreciate the Elbe River as I have, wishes it something better. For instance, will new purification plants also take the nitrates out of the Elbe?

The Doerffler couple, both GDR scientists, pleaded in their book "Back to Nature?" for the "cycle principle": to extract from industrial waste water valuable materials through new procedures, which then flow back to industry. Phosphate, for example, can be separated out through adding lime. Taken to the fields as sludge, it is valuable fertilizer, and in addition it is cheaper than importing expensive phosphates and producing nitrogen fertilizers with enormous energy expenditure. Ion exchangers could recover heavy metals from waste waters.

If we understand that we cannot live without clean air and clean water, if we stop (in the East and West) to mutually blame each other, if we finally do something for nature and hence, above all, for ourselves: If all this happens, then perhaps one day the innkeeper of the restaurant on the embankment can again write on his sign: "Today fresh fish from the Elbe." And no one will lose his appetite over it.

HUNGARY

Possible Industrial Development Trends Defined 25000167 Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 16 Mar 89 pp 1, 4

[Article by Marton Peto: "Industry Expectations: Continuing Uncertainty": first paragraph is FIGYELO introduction]

[Text] At the beginning of this year 600 industrial firms, associations and cooperatives participated in the traditional survey conducted by the Institute of Economic Research. They represent about 70 percent of our industry's production and export volume. Opinions refer only to the direction of changes that can be expected to take place in managing enterprises, and reflect intentions derived from these enterprises' specific situation and interests.

Growing indications of a crisis (inflationary pressure, continuously deteriorating payment discipline) and signs of adaptation (greater freedom of activity for enterprises, a strengthening of market limitations) are having an equally strong influence on what enterprises can expect this year. When it comes to the question "Which way is Hungary's industry heading?" the survey conducted by

the Institute of Economic Research provides no answer, but the picture we get from the answers of enterprises surveyed do give us an indication as to the possible directions of trends.

According to the forecast of economic units, the volume of our industrial production will grow by 2.5-3.5 percent, that is, at a rate higher than planned in the calculations of national plan. This production prognosis made by the enterprises appears somewhat overoptimistic, both in light of our previous experiences, and also when considered from the point of view of realistic marketing opportunities or resources. As for the volume of marketing, the enterprises predict that it will grow at a much more moderate rate, estimated at around one percent. The volume of domestic marketing will stagnate. The forecast indicates a small decline for machine and light industries, while the chemical industry can expect somewhat of a growth. The volume of commodities sold to domestic commerce will be about the same as last year.

The volume of export to socialist countries will remain at the level of the previous year. The enterprises expect increasing export activities in the chemical and construction-material industries, stagnation in the machine industry, and decline in the light industries.

When it comes to nonsocialist exports, the volume of export will increase by 3-4 percent (and by even more in the machine and light industries). Metallurgical firms foresee a slight decline in their export activities.

In contrast to the forecast made by the enterprises, orders placed during the early part of the year indicate a decline in domestic marketing and in export to socialist countries, as well as the growth of hard-currency export. According to the enterprises, a more energetic growth in export activities is limited by such worsening problems as market demand, profitability and the level of technological quality. Boom-or-bust factors and pressures to utilize capacity may temporarily moderate the effects of structural problems and backwardness, but we can hardly expect fundamental changes.

Industrial firms expect to face a market situation that is substantially the same as that of last year. Among the factors having the greatest negative influence on the growth of production, that of market demand will increase somewhat when compared to the preceding years. When compared to favorable changes experienced in 1988, metallurgical, chemical and certain food-processing enterprises expect to run into growing marketing difficulties this year. Market demands represent two-thirds of the problem in the food-processing industry and half of the problem in the machine industry. When it comes to the machine industry, its limitations will increase in export activities to the socialist countries and on the domestic market.

According to the enterprises, the market position of our export to nonsocialist countries will be about the same in 1989 as in the previous year; that is, there will be a slowdown in improvement. The machine and light industries will continue to experience a slight acceleration, while the food-processing industry can look for a slowdown. The metallurgical industry counts on a situation similar to that in the previous year, while the chemical industry (after the improvements of 1987 and 1988) expects a small decline.

According to the enterprises, the incentives for increasing nonsocialist export activities continued to grow in 1987 and 1988, after the decline of 1986, and this trend will be moderated this year. Last year, 58 percent of the enterprises reported an increase and 11 percent a decrease in export incentives; this year the proportions are 32 and 19 percent.

The 1989 modifications in the supervisory and regulatory system created somewhat more favorable conditions for entrepreneurship. When enterprises were asked, in 1987 about a half of them, in 1988 nearly two-thirds of them and in 1989 nearly 70 percent of them said that entrepreneurial readiness is on the rise, and only a small percentage claimed the opposite.

The intensity of profit incentive is being moderated in 1989. In 1987 and 1988 about 70 percent, in 1989 about 60 percent of industrial enterprises indicated a growth of the profit incentive.

When it comes to the freedom of enterprises in developments, it will improve somewhat in 1989, after a slight deterioration of 1988.

According to the enterprises, the volume of input resources at the beginning of 1989 was somewhat higher in every industry than in 1988. Their forecast claims that the volume of domestic procurement for production purposes will stagnate this year. Import from socialist countries will increase somewhat. As for import from nonsocialist countries, its volume is expected to be about equal to the average of the preceding years.

The operation of enterprises is aided by favorable changes that have taken place in connection with nonsocialist import activities. According to two-fifths of the enterprises, the freedom of economic units in managing import activities has grown, and only one-fifth of them claim that their freedom is decreasing. One-tenth of the firms in the machine industry indicate an energetic liberalization of import management. On the other hand, a portion of economic units report that import competition is still not being created. Even a drop in prices has not influenced the buyers to accept the risk of losing long-term production contacts with domestic firms. Compared to previous years, there is less demand for imported goods, and this is due in part to the reduced ability to pay.

According to the enterprises, problems in procuring raw material and spare parts domestically continue to represent a significant portion of the factors that hinder the rise of production level. When it comes to import from socialist countries, enterprises still do not consider it a major hindering factor, and (in accordance with the broadening of freedom in import activities) every branch of industry reports that nonsocialist import is less and less likely to hinder production. A scarcity of production capacities is primarily noticeable in the chemical industry, while the shortage of labor force is most evident in the enterprises of light industry.

According to the enterprises' forecast, 1989 will not bring a fundamental change in the labor force situation. It has been the experience of past decades that enterprises report a smaller labor force reduction than what actually takes place: In 1989 this reported figure is one percent (2-3 percent in the machine industry). In the metallurgical and chemical branches they expect to see stagnation, while in electrical energy production a continuing growth of labor force is projected.

The enterprises included in the survey report a labor force cut back that is only slightly greater than last years. Half of this will effect the machine industry, where the rate of cut back will have increased threefold from the previous year. Moreover, because of a complex system of production relationships involved in the manufacturing of machine industry products (which is different from the demands of coal mining and ferrous metallurgy), this also has a significant, often immeasurable, further effect in reducing production and labor force levels. According to the forecasts, the labor force cutback will be moderated in the metallurgical industry, while in the other branches it will be similar to last year's rate. The activity of enterprise work teams [VGMKs] within firms will be reduced significantly, and one-third of the economic units do not intend to compensate for the capacity thus lost. Other enterprises will emphasize making more efficient use of primary working hours.

Wage-Price Spiral?

When it comes to the new earnings regulations, which significantly increased the enterprises' freedom of action, more than three-quarters of those surveyed approve of the new rules, with only a few percent voicing complaints. According to the enterprises' opinion at the beginning of the year, average wages will increase by 7 percent in 1989. The experience of past years shows that forecasts concerning average wages are usually underestimated, and as inflation grows, the gap becomes larger. This tendency will probably apply for this year as well.

Money saved by reducing payments for enterprise work teams activities will be used to increase wages, and (as has been already done in a number of enterprises) the auxiliary wages paid out last year will be incorporated in

the base wage budgets. As a result of "successful" internal wage negotiations, several enterprises are implementing multistep programs of wage development. Enterprises consider it their primary goal to bring about a rise in average wages approaching (or even matching) the rising level of consumer prices. The powerful social pressure for increasing average wages make performance a secondary consideration. As inflation grows, we will see a (partly natural) process in which there will be less connection between wages and performance, and this will generate an accelerating wage and price inflation as well. The loosening of performance demands distorts wage proportions, prevents the application of incentives and differentiation, and sooner or later will lead to a spiraling deterioration of the economy. This is because as the sources for wage increases necessarily dry up, improving or reestablishing the relationship between earnings and performance can be achieved only at the cost of serious crises and accumulating internal tensions.

In addition to concentrating on increasing earnings, price changes and payment problems are also causing tension in managing enterprises. The rising cost of materials and semifinished products, combined with their accumulating consequences, generate a steadily growing inflation. There are also growing gaps between enterprises which are subject to varying restrictions as to their freedom to raise or modify their prices. Enterprises producing consumer goods and commodities for socialist export are specifically the ones that are prevented from passing on the effect of price increases, or are able to do so only with delay. The changes in price levels are comprehensively characterized by the (previously unheard of) fact that the enterprises propose a nine percent increase in production costs, which is even greater than the planned increase.

According to the enterprises' forecast, the net balance will show an increase of approximately 10 percent. Much greater increase is expected in the metallurgical, machine and light industries. A decisive portion of this performance surplus will be derived from the increase of retail prices. In addition to the inflationary pressure it exerts on the level of consumer prices, the changing level of production costs also influences the volume of production and the effectiveness of management: After all, if net sale profits show a sizeable increase, it is possible to reach the planned level of performance and added value with a moderate increase (or even a decline) in production and export activities, without significantly reducing specific production costs.

In relationship among enterprises, not only the discipline of delivery, but also that of payment continues to deteriorate. In the first case, there is a strengthening of the sellers' market and an increasing vulnerability on the part of buyers, while the second factor puts the suppliers in an increasingly difficult financial position. According to the enterprises, payment difficulties will continue to exist this year, and in certain cases their effect will be even stronger. While last year 60 percent of the surveyed

industrial firms indicated this kind of problems, in 1989 there will be 70 percent in similar situation. About 80 percent of the enterprises that see payment problems in 1989 also indicated similar tensions in 1988. There is a chain-reaction-like growth in the number of insolvent firms, and this causes disturbances and delays even among enterprises that have no similar problems. This is why the absence of solvency cannot be used by itself to describe the activities of enterprises. Severe problems of liquidity frequently disorganize even the production relationships, and there are times when solvency can be maintained only by paying very high interest rates.

Enterprises are planning on an increase of about 20 percent (at current rates) in their investment activities, and when it comes to financing these projects, a growing proportion of them will be self-financed. Loans will represent an increasing share only in the machine and food-processing industries. Nearly two-thirds of the increase invested in the purchase of equipment will be spent on machinery imported from nonsocialist countries. (The forecast of the previous year indicated a similar proportion.) The effect of liberalizing import regulations is not yet noticeable. Increasingly, the greatest limitation on procuring imported machinery, and thus stimulating technological development and structural change, is the solvency of enterprises.

A Desire To Associate

Forty percent of the enterprises (more than half in the machine and chemical industries) are planning some sort of organizational change. About half of these involve the creation of shareholding or similar companies, and about two-fifths the establishment of joint ventures with foreign partners. Such a desire to implement organizational changes is stronger among those enterprises that produce goods of higher value or have a greater share of export to capitalist markets.

It is generally acknowledged that the elimination of uneconomical activities does not and cannot, by itself, solve structural problems and difficulties, unless it is combined with the acceleration of technological development, the introduction or intensification of modern techniques and technological methods. The experience of the recent past has also unequivocally demonstrated that the energetic development and stabilization of management and the creation of lasting relative independence of unexpected external factors calls for the realization of strategic goals and an improvement of technological standards. The midrange development of enterprises and structural transformation, however, are characterized to a certain extent by this: Nearly two-thirds of the enterprises have no comprehensive concept of development for the early 1990s. Even the ones that have such a concept feel that it needs to be revised.

These enterprise forecasts reveal to us that favorable changes in the behavior of enterprises only approximate the goals of our national economy. It seems that there are

insufficient bases for fundamental structural changes, as well as measures to improve the balance or increase effectiveness. It is also without question, however, that a structural transformation takes a certain amount of time (due to reasons of technology and techniques, among other factors), and that we have taken the initial steps (by liberalizing resource management and removing restrictions) to create the requisite conditions. At the same time, it still remains possible that certain threats (such as those of eliminating the distinctions between performance and earnings, a strong inflationary pressure, or the tension between external and internal equilibrium) will become more powerful.

Bos-Nagymaros: Interdependent Energy Policy Criticized

25000163a Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG
in Hungarian 11 Mar 89 pp 51-53

[Article by Istvan Zvolenszky: "Bos-Nagymaros and the Energy Policy: The Energy Trojan Horse"]

[Text] The National Assembly will decide after this issue goes to press whether or not to discuss once again the matter of the river barrage system at Bos-Nagymaros. However, regardless of the decision, the river barrage will long remain alive as a topic in the country's political life. The writer of this article, himself an energy specialist, points out some of the connections between the Bos-Nagymaros project and our energy policies.

It has been less than five months since the National Assembly made its "shocking" resolution, and the country's energy program, winner of the National Prize six years ago, in which the Bos-Nagymaros hydroelectric project [BNV] represents merely the tip of the iceberg, disintegrated. To begin with, let us recall the arguments used by the "water people" to illustrate the necessity for the hydroelectric project. They said that we need the power plant at Nagymaros because the huge amount of water coming down when the Bos power plant is working at peak capacity would have to be held back by a dam at Nagymaros. And, they continued, as long as there has to be a dam, then there will be room inside it for hydroelectric turbines; a bridge can be built on top of the dam; and there will be a water reservoir at Nagymaros, with a large water surface and cubic capacity, which will be usable for shipping and recreational purposes.

However, since the Danube will be slowed down and made into a lake, it will no longer be able to carry the region's sewage, and until the sewage purification plants are completed, the National Assembly obliged the government not to allow the power plant at Bos to run at peak capacity. In other words, until that time, which will not be before 1996, there will be no need for the dam at Visegrad-Nagymaros either. After 1996, according to the original concept, the Austrians (who would build the dam) would take all of the electricity produced at Nagymaros and most of that produced at Bos. This energy would have been replaced by electricity produced at the

first of two new 1,000 megawatt nuclear power plants at Paks, designed to be completed by that time. During the past six months, however, it was revealed that the nuclear power plant would not start producing before 1998. As a consequence, according to expert opinions, we must still spend 6 billion forints and build two gas-turbine power plants with a capacity of 150 megawatts each; the very same plants which the project at Nagymaros was supposed to replace.

In October the National Assembly approved 30 billion forints worth of additional expenditure to be spent on environmental protection. Adding this to the above 6 billion forints, the cost of the project, officially still listed at 54 billion forints, has increased by 36 billion during the last six months.

But who, and for what reason, would want to concrete over the bed of the Danube between Visegrad and Nagymaros? Well, this nearly invisible, submerged portion of the "iceberg" appears to be the Hungarian energy policy, specifically the energy Trojan horse proposed by the Hungarian Electrical Trust [MVMT.]

Why do we call this a Trojan horse? By building the Visegrad-Nagymaros river-barrage, we would spend a tremendous amount of money (unofficial calculations have already exceeded 200 billion forints) to create a technical atmosphere favoring the operation of a hydroelectric power plant. In other words, there will be plenty of experts in 1998 willing to pull out the plans for the pump-operated energy-reservoir above Visegrad and, overriding all protests, would be able to push through the creation of first one power plant, then another, each with a 600-megawatt peak capacity.

The Paks power plant will serve as the reason behind the above argument. The energy demand of this country is so small at certain times of the day that it is far exceeded by the designed capacity of the Paks plant, 3,760 megawatts. Thus, surplus electrical energy the Paks plant will produce at a steady rate (the only way to operate the plant) would have to be used for pumping water during these times. In other words, the new 1,000 megawatt power plants could not be operated without the (conveniently nearby) pump-operated energy-reservoirs at Predikaloszek.

This year at the latest, there will be a decision concerning the completion of this project, if we allow it to happen. Argument is certain to be centered on the need to balance the energy situation which, in spite of the hundreds of billions spent on domestic and international projects, continues to be more and more shaky. Between now and 2005, the National Energy Management Authority [OEGH] intends to spend 40 percent of all industrial investment on energy-related development, even though we should set aside at least 80 percent of our scarce resources for the purposes of structural change in our industry. This so-called interdependent energy policy, which evidently chases nothing but gigawatt-hours

and is based exclusively on coal, petroleum, natural gas, nuclear energy and a minuscule amount of hydroenergy, bears a ghostly similarity to the Soviet Union's GOELRO plan (inspired by Lenin and Stalin), which was also pursued at all costs and also concentrated on sheer volume, instead of people who used the electricity. This is in spite of the fact that, for instance, by making innovative use of the reserves in our country's biomass, utilizing the existing or planned facilities (such as Paks, BNV, Tengiz or the eocene program), we could replace the lost resources and could produce an environmentally safe energy surplus at a fraction of the costs earmarked for this project. (See: HETI VILLAGGAZDASAG 15 July 1986 and 16 August 1987.)

However, the old fashioned interdependent energy policy, proposed by Academician Kapolyi and his decorated associates, firmly guards its positions, among them the dam at Visegrad-Nagymaros. No wonder, because, as the sociologist Istvan Javor said, "Investment, development and organization are not motivated by the achieving of goals, but by power interests. The sole motivation is that the results achieved by development and planning can be exploited, and during the time this takes place, the developed power structure becomes firmly established. In other words, the only motivator behind development is a total lack of interest in development; the petrification and stabilization of the power structure that has nothing but a counterincentive when it comes to any kind of change, development or organization." (TAR-SADALOMKUTATAS 1987 No.4)

This sociological connection reveals why our domestic projects have been realized in such a contradictory manner, at such great expense and with such huge losses. One must admit that during the process the organizations involved have been very effective in solving the problems connected with stabilizing their own power structure. Taking advantage of the possibilities provided by the state's redistribution machinery and the system of regulation, they have achieved external and internal development resources that enabled them to easily stabilize and rigidify the enlarged power structure which never really needed these investments. Yet, this type of motivator promoting the stabilization of the power structure will be able to operate as long as there are financing opportunities to cover the cost of self-destruction and using up one's own resources.

[Box, p 51]

The 'Permanence' of Circumstances

The deputies have not been sufficiently informed about the expected effects of the river barrage, especially about the opposing views, asserts the proclamation that was recently placed by deputies in the MAGYAR NEMZET, along with demands for the National Assembly to discuss the issue of the Bos-Nagymaros river barrage once again during its March 8 session.

The National Assembly's ad hoc committee dealing with the Bos-Nagymaros issue decided last week not to call for a new debate on the matter. They justified their decision by claiming that the circumstances have not changed since last October. Others, however, claim that since the October decision several questions came up concerning the project that have not yet been made public. For example, in the January 8 issue of the HETI VILAG-GAZDASAG the jurist Peter Kulcsar discussed the legality of the 1977 Czechoslovak-Hungarian treaty, referring, among other things, to its inequitable consequences that are disadvantageous for Hungary. What is known only to experts is that the project would have detrimental effects for Hungary when it comes to utilizing the large drinking-water reservoir of the Szigetkoz region. The Slovak partners made plans years ago for taking advantage of circumstances the project would alter for their benefit; according to these plans, after the Danube river was transferred entirely to Czechoslovak territory, they would start drawing water from it on both shores. Bringing 600,000 cubic meters of water to the surface daily, they could supply water to the greater part of Slovakia from Bratislava to Kosice [Kassa], and even the southern part of Moravia. According to experts, this contradicts Article 9, paragraph 1 of the treaty, which stipulates that "parties to this treaty should obtain equal benefits and advantages from this river barrage system." Obviously, rerouting the river and drawing large amounts of water from it in Slovakia would reduce the water volume available on Hungarian territory, and would probably also contribute to the deterioration of water quality. These phenomena would become noticeable only after the reservoir and side channel at Dunakilit were filled with water. We have at least 8 months before that takes place.

[Box, p 52]

Lajos Biro and Gabor Varnai: 'Popular Views'

During late January and early February of this year, associates of the Hungarian Institute for Public Opinion Research asked 3,000 residents from Budapest, 100 from Komlo and Berettyoujfalu and 50 each from Kistelek, Bordany, Balogunyom and Gencsapat, concerning the reception accorded the National Assembly's vote on the Bos-Nagymaros river barrage. Below is a brief summarization of the survey's outcome.

According to 66 percent of the respondents from Budapest, 47 percent from the country towns and 56 percent of the villagers, the decision was detrimental to the National Assembly's prestige. As a result, 70 percent of those from Budapest, 52 percent of those from the country towns and 61 percent of the villagers said that the National Assembly suffered a loss of confidence. These views were more frequent among those with higher educational background, skilled workers, young people and residents of Budapest or the towns. Only a

minority (five percent of those from Budapest, 13 percent of those from the towns and 10 percent of the villagers) held the opposite view.

According to more than half of those surveyed (60 percent of those from Budapest, 49 percent of those from the towns and 57 percent of the villagers), "it would be good to hold a plebiscite about building the power plant." A readiness to sign petitions calling for a plebiscite was declared by 52 percent of those from Budapest, 44 percent of those from the towns and 51 percent of the villagers. As reasons for their opinions, the majority referred to the principle of popular sovereignty, citing such expressions as "it is time for people to decide," or "people have the right to become involved in decisions like this." Thirty percent of those from Budapest, 41 percent of those from the towns and 33 percent of the villagers were opposed to holding a plebiscite, and 39, 48 and 39 percent, respectively, would not sign a petition calling for a plebiscite. The latter view was most frequently expressed by members of the MSZMP and those with less education, and they most frequently justified their statements by saying that "the matter has already been decided," or "people are not well informed, not knowledgeable enough."

In other words, a majority (60, 49 and 57 percent) would approve of a plebiscite, many people (52, 44 and 51 percent) would even sign a petition calling for a plebiscite; yet, a majority opposing the power plant would not exist throughout the region: Sixty percent of those from Budapest, 49 percent of those from the towns and 31 percent of the villagers would oppose the project.

There are four distinct groups of views. The first group includes those who would not sign a petition, do not approve of a plebiscite and, if one was held, would vote for building the power plant (21 percent of those surveyed). Part of this category are the 42 percent of that minority (10 percent of all surveyed) who feel that the National Assembly has gained in prestige and popular confidence after voting for the power plant. This category also includes 63 percent of those who feel that people seeking a plebiscite have no right to collect signatures for their petition, with 17 percent of those from Budapest, 29 percent of those from the towns and 24 percent of the villagers among them. This is also the category that contains the majority of individuals with high school degrees, skilled workers and non-college-graduate white-collar workers. MSZMP members, the middle-aged and residents of Komlo or Berettyoujfalu.

Members of the second group (25 percent of all surveyed) would provide their signatures in demanding a plebiscite, approve of it and would vote against the power plant. Nearly all of them (88 percent) feel that the National Assembly's vote in favor of the power plant was detrimental to the prestige of the leadership. All of them assert that people have the right to collect signatures. Thirty-four percent of those from Budapest, 12 percent of those from towns and 24 percent of the villagers

belong in this category. Its members are more likely to have higher education (32 percent), be white collar workers (33 percent), young (53 percent) or reside in Budapest (59 percent).

The third group (17 percent of all surveyed) approve of a plebiscite, most of them would even sign a petition, but would vote for the completion of the power plant. Forty-eight percent of them claim that the decision [to go ahead with the project] did not add to the National Assembly's prestige. They (92 percent) assert that collecting signatures is a viable course of action. Eleven percent of those from Budapest, 22 percent of those from towns and 22 percent of the villagers belong in this category, all of them having only elementary or secondary education.

The fourth group (37 percent) contains those who are "not interested." Its members frequently answered with "I do not know," or gave contradictory answers. (For example, disapproving of plebiscite, but willing to sign a petition demanding it.) In general, they feel that the National Assembly's decision did not effect the leadership's prestige (40 percent of those holding this view were in this category). Although a majority of them (65 percent) approve of a signature-collecting campaign, it was also members of this category who would, by and large, not even show up if a plebiscite were held. Thirty percent of those from Budapest, 28 percent of those from towns and 25 percent of the villagers belong in this category.

Nagymaros Residents Support Energy Project
25000163B Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
21 Mar 89 p 6

[MTI report: "Petition-Signing Countercampaign"]

[Text] The MSZMP party cell of the Nagymaros residential district initiated a petition-signing campaign in support of continuing work on the river barrage.

The residents cannot comprehend the contradictory situation in which the government committed itself on behalf of speeding work on the construction of the river barrage, yet (within one month) the most recent session of the National Assembly has also heard statements according to which the government supports slowing down the pace of construction. The inhabitants of Nagymaros, who never wanted a river barrage, and whose opinions were never solicited in this matter, were until now watching events in silence. Now they would like to break this silence and initiate a nationwide countercampaign in support of having the river barrage built.

In practice, they wish to use the same rights and methods which the opponents of the river barrage never disputed. Residents of Nagymaros, in initiating a countercampaign, wish to bring to the attention of the government that, just as they have done until now, they continue to oppose the holding of a plebiscite on this issue. They

claim that a plebiscite would have been timely in the early 1970's, but people who made the decisions in those days let that opportunity slip by. In the present complicated and extremely polarized situation, the holding of a plebiscite would amount to sidestepping the issue.

Therefore, the people of Nagymaros feel that the river barrage, together, naturally, with all of the investment projects to protect the environment, should be completed in such a manner that would genuinely contribute to the good of the entire nation.

POLAND

POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup
26000413 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
No 12, 25 Mar 89 p 2

[Excerpts]

[Passage omitted] A report by the Central Office of Statistics on the economic situation in February: production sold by the socialized industry declined by 2 percent in comparison with February 1988, and for a comparable period of time (February 1989 had one less working day), it was 2.4 percent higher. The rate of growth of production in February was 2.7 percent lower than in January, caused, in part, by lower shipments of supplies (both from imports and domestic production). In comparison with January: exports grew significantly; purchases of slaughter animals declined (by 16.6 percent); prices for industrial products grew by 4.5 percent; and the index of retail prices increased by 7.4 percent (not including alcohol, by 6.4 percent); the people's monetary income declined minimally, by 0.2 percent. [passage omitted]

The prosecutor general of the People's Republic of Poland published a decision to rehabilitate Gen August Fieldorf, deputy of the last leader of the Home Army, sentenced to death in 1952 and executed a year later. (In 1957 the Supreme Court did overturn the sentence, but the prosecutor ordered to continue the investigation published a decision to "suspend the investigation because of a lack of evidence of guilt" in July 1958. Now the reason for discontinuing the investigation is that Fieldorf did not commit the act of which he was accused and was innocent.) [passage omitted]

P. Nouvel, the head of the World Bank delegation which visited Poland, on the reforms of the last few months: "The list includes the law on entrepreneurship, on foreign investments, the recent opening of private currency markets, and the program for restructuring industry presented by the minister of industry. All this makes an impression, and we must congratulate Poles and the government." P. Nouvel announced a shift "in the near future" from technical help to financial help for Poland.

Irena Szaczkus discusses the multiplication of intermediaries in trade in TRYBUNA LUDU. The Torimex Foreign Trade Society is importing Bulgarian floor covering; it is selling it for 1,800 zloty per m². Expolco Society imported the same floor covering and sold it to the privately managed Dzierzynski Trade Enterprise for 2,800 zloty per m²; Dzierzynski sold it to the Gdansk Center for Building Materials for 3,500 zloty; and it sold it to the Consultex Export Promotion Enterprise in Walbrzych for 4,150 zloty. In turn, the Agrobud Auction Partnership in Warsaw purchased it for 5,500 zloty and sold it to the Fuel Trade Enterprise for 6,600 zloty, which offered it to its clients for 8,250 zloty. Dzierzynski made the greatest profit, 196 million zloty. Szaczkus ends her article: "Now there is an investigation to determine just who Dzierzynski is."

An antinuclear march was organized by the opponents of the construction of a nuclear power plant in Chotcza on the Wisla along the route from Pulawy to Kazimierz. A group of about 200 individuals (supported by "greens" from Warsaw) held a demonstration in the market square in Kazimierz, to the delight of the local PZPR, ZSL, and SD authorities, who previously had protested against the construction of the nuclear power plant.

Former members of the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) have begun efforts to renew the activities of the organization; among the organizing group are Szymon Kobylinski and Stanislaw Podemski, members of our editorial staff.

At the Dominican Church in Tarnobrzeg, a commemorative plaque in honor of Major Hieronim Dekutowski, "Zapora," head of Lublin-Pulawy Diversionary Directorate of the Home Army, was unveiled. Among the participants in the ceremony were the friends of Zapora and representatives of Solidarity and the Confederation for an Independent Poland. They spoke of Zapora as a fighter for a free Poland, who became a victim of Stalinism. On this occasion, several daily papers mentioned who Zapora was; in 1945-47, his unit committed more than 600 terrorist acts and thefts, during which at least 328 individuals were killed; 70 wounded; 81 seriously beaten; and 18 abducted. In November 1948 during Zapora's trial, he was sentenced to death and later executed. [passage omitted]

The Association of Soldiers of the Home Army was formed in Warsaw on 11 March. The Temporary Board and its Presidium, which is to take steps to register the Association, were created. Zygmunt Gluszek, "Victor," conveyed a report on this matter to our editorial offices. [passage omitted]

On the Left

[passage omitted] "The dialogue between the state and church is beneficial in and of itself," Prague Bishop K. Matouszek told RUDE PRAVO. "Thanks to dialogue, there has been progress in talks on publishing religious literature."

The president of the Czech writers' union: Nothing now stands in the way of authors, who found themselves beyond the bounds of literary life in the 1970's and 1980's, publishing their works, "taking into account their current civic attitude, they can return to pursuing their writing, which, however, does not have to be associated with their return to the ranks of the writers' union." Recently, a number of outstanding writers have regained membership in the union, including Bohumil Hrabal. [passage omitted]

The USSR is supplying China with credits of \$125 million. The low interest loan will be used to modernize the Baotou steelworks in the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia. The Associated Press: This will be the first Soviet loan to China since the end of the 1950's. [passage omitted]

"The tragic, drastic phenomenon of suicide by young girls and women of the native peoples of the Asiatic republics—frequently by self-immolation—is caused chiefly by the backwardness of the rural areas," R. Gajdarowa and V. Karaimova write. They also make the following comment: "The contrast between how the girls from the rural areas live and how they should live in their imagination is too sharp. . . . Girls write letters to the editor that in their villages it is impossible to live normally. It is impossible to chose an occupation one likes. They work in the cotton fields 12 hours a day. The boys have it easier; they leave, either to the army or to technical schools, to institutes or to Komsomol construction projects. The girls are never allowed to leave home."

Several hundred people, desiring to emigrate to the West, participated in an illegal demonstration in Leipzig. The march formed after a service in St. Nicholas Church and then moved through the streets of the city. Crowds of residents and guests at the Leipzig Spring Fair watched the demonstration.

At the eighth congress of GDR historians, the need for more intensive study of the history of the Weimar Republic was recognized. It should be treated not only as a "specific form of imperialistic rule, but also as a historical forerunner of the GDR." On the other hand, in evaluating German-Soviet relations in the 1930's, it is necessary to ask whether the USSR had any alternative to signing the nonaggression pact of 23 August 1939 with the Nazis.

In Hungary, there were 1,700 positions in the nomenclatura in 1973; in 1985, there were 1,241. At a plenum of the MSZMP Central Committee in July 1988, it was decided to limit it to 452 positions.

The Hungarian government is ready to study the possibility of holding a referendum on the continuation of the construction of the hydroelectric project at Gabczikovo-Nagymaros. Austria loaned the Hungarians \$520 million to build the dam.

AIDS in the Soviet Union: there are more than 140 endangered individuals (in 1988, 81), and of every four Soviet citizens with AIDS, three have died. It is anticipated that in 1990 there will be 1,342 infected individuals. [passage omitted]

The GDR is fourth in the world in consumption of electricity per capita. The annual production of lignite is 319 million tons; and it should fall below 300 million tons. By the end of the century four more generating units should be built at the nuclear power plant near Greifswald. The location of four other nuclear power plants will be determined after 1990.

Opinions

[passage omitted]

Prof Dr Andrzej Sicinski, cultural sociologist:

(Interviewed by Piotr Luczka, NURT February 1989)

[Answer] There were many other factors acting to reduce cultural aspirations than just material problems. In particular, one has to mention the introduction of martial law in December 1981 and the social frustration associated with it. Martial law caused social apathy and indifference, whose results are still visible in social life. Together with a few colleagues we developed within the Poland 2000 Committee several scenarios for the development of the social situation, warning in one of them that an "attempt at reform under an umbrella of force" would not produce any positive political, economic, or cultural results.

Tadeusz Gabis, philologist, founding member of the A. Fredro Club of Conservatives in Wroclaw:

(Interviewed by Jan Wawrzyniak, WIECZOR WROCLAWIA 8 March 1989)

[Answer] Our proposed charter says only men 23 years of age or older may be members of the club. Why do we exclude women from politics? Simply, women follow their emotions. Frequently they are unable to remain calm, and common sense for them is always second. In the political arena, they are tense and unnatural. . . . We will strive to restore the notion of "head of the family." In recent times, it has been lost, deprecated as a result of the emancipation processes. Men must develop their ability to earn a living, gain social prestige, and commanding supported, however, by charisma.

Party Activities Calendar 30 Jan-12 Feb 1989

26000381c Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
No 4, 23 Feb 89 p 21

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle: 30 January-12 February 1989"]

[Excerpts]

Meetings of the Politburo of the Central Committee

31 January. The Politburo at a meeting in which the first secretaries and the heads of the Central Committee

sections participated, evaluated the sociopolitical situation in Poland. They also discussed the preparations for the changes in organizational structures in the central and voivodship party units.

7 February. The Politburo greeted the beginning of the deliberations at the roundtable with satisfaction; evaluated positively the implementation of the designs of Polish foreign policy and defined the crucial tasks facing foreign policy in the current year; acquainted itself with the course and results of the discussion at the 10th All-Polish Conference of Representatives of Employees' Self-Managements; familiarized itself with reports on the working visit by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, in Prague on 1 February 1989.

Meeting of the Central Commission for PZPR, ZSL, and SD Cooperation

3 February. At the building of the SD Central Committee, there was a meeting of the leaders of the three allied parties: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Roman Malinowski, and Tadeusz W. Mlynaczak, in which Jozef Czyrek, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, participated.

Then, there was a meeting of the Central Commission for PZPR, ZSL, and SD Cooperation and of the secular Catholic Christian movements PAX, the Christian-Social Union, and the Polish Catholic-Social Union. The participants for the PZPR were Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stanislaw Ciosek, Jozef Czyrek, and Boguslaw Kolodziejczak. They discussed the preparations for the talks at the roundtable and expressed satisfaction with the progress so far.

Third All-Polish Theoretical and Ideological Conference

2-4 February. The Third All-Polish Theoretical and Ideological Conference was held at the building of the PZPR Central Committee. Marian Orzechowski presided over the deliberations in which the central party and government authorities, including Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, participated. Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech initiated the discussion. Marian Orzechowski summarized the achievements of the three days of deliberation.

Conferences and Meetings

[passage omitted] **31 January.** Prof Jarema Maciszewski, rector of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences, received a delegation of the Institute of Party History of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party led by the director of that institute, Prof Feliks M. Rudich. They discussed the contents of the protocol on bilateral cooperation.

2 February. In Warsaw, there was a conference of the first secretaries of the basic party organizations of research and development units under the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and the Food Industry. The tasks for the basic party organizations deriving from the decisions of the 10th plenum of the Central Committee, were presented by Kazimierz Grzesiak, head of the Agriculture Section of the Central Committee.

8 February. In Katowice, Lublin, and Warsaw, there were regional conferences of the first secretaries of factory party offices to discuss operations after the 10th plenum of the Central Committee, in the economic sphere, the democratization of social life, and seeking new methods and forms of party work.

In Katowice, Manfred Gorywoda, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Committee, presided over the deliberations; Janusz Basiak, head of the Economic Policy Section, was among those who participated.

In Lublin, Stanislaw Ciosek, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, participated in the conference. Andrzej Szpringer, first secretary of the Lublin Voivodship Committee, delivered the opening speech.

Janusz Kubasiewicz, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw Committee, presided at the Warsaw conference. Zygmunt Czarzasty, secretary of the Central Committee, and Janusz Patorski, deputy premier, participated in the conference. [passage omitted]

9 February. In Wroclaw, there was a regional conference of more than 200 first secretaries of factory committees on the implementation of the 10th plenum of the Central Committee. Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, participated in the meeting, and Zdzislaw Balicki, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Wroclaw Voivodship Committee, presided over the deliberations. [passage omitted]

10 February. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, met with a group of Warsaw journalists and editors of the press, radio, and television. [passage omitted]

In the Offices and Organizations

30 January. The Nowy Sacz Voivodship Committee confirmed materials for the voivodship reporting and program conference.

Iwona Lubowska, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, participated in an open party meeting at the Metaplast plants in Bielsko Biala.

31 January. The Olsztyn Voivodship Committee evaluated the course of the reporting campaign in the voivodship party organization.

The Ostroleka Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks deriving from the 10th plenum of the Central Committee for party work in the voivodship.

6 February. The Czestochowa Voivodship Committee discussed increasing the effectiveness of party activities by using the decisions of the 10th plenum of the Central Committee and the experiences of the Factory Committee of the Bierut Steelworks and three city and gmina party organizations. [passage omitted]

7 February. The Opole Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks deriving from the decisions of the 10th plenum of the Voivodship Committee on the reporting campaign in the voivodship party organization.

The Walbrzych Voivodship Committee discussed experience gathered in the application of the new forms of party work and confirmed the materials for the voivodship reporting conference.

9 February. The Suwalki Voivodship Committee discussed the materials for the voivodship reporting conference.

10 February. Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Politburo and chairman of the OPZZ, met with the trade unionists of the Transportation Equipment Plant in Rzeszow and with representatives of the federations and union organizations of the larger enterprises in the region.

11 February. Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and chairman of the OPZZ, held several hours of talks with the trade unionists of the Voivodship Confederation of Trade Unions in Nowy Sacz, including the deliberations at the round-table. [passage omitted]

The Kalisz Voivodship Committee discussed proposed changes in the structure of the voivodship committee and preparations for the voivodship reporting conference.

The Katowice Voivodship Committee defined the tasks for the voivodship party organization after the 10th plenum and also accepted a report on the operations of the Voivodship Committee for the voivodship reporting conference. Manfred Gorywoda, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, presided over the deliberations.

The Szczecin Voivodship Committee confirmed changes in the structure of the commissions and section of the Voivodship Committee and confirmed materials for the voivodship reporting conference.

The Tarnobrzeg Voivodship Committee evaluated the course of the reporting campaign in the voivodship party organization and confirmed the materials for the voivodship conference.

The Torun Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks of the voivodship party organization in the light of the decisions of the 10th plenum of the Central Committee.

Interparty Cooperation

1 February. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, paid a 1-day working visit to the CSSR. Jozef Czyrek, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and Janusz Patorski, deputy premier, accompanied the Polish leader.

Wojciech Jaruzelski held talks with Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee, and met with Gustav Husak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR.

30 January-2 February. Ali Yata, secretary general of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism, director of the press organ of the party AL BAYANE, visited Poland at the invitation of TRYBUNA LUDU. Jozef Czyrek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and member of the Politburo, met with Ali Yata.

10 February. A delegation of agricultural workers, members of the central authorities of the CPSU visited Poland. Near the end of their visit the guests met with Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, and Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, secretary of the Central Committee, and Ernest Kucza and Kazimierz Grzesiak, heads of sections of the Central Committee.

PZPR Voivodship Plenums: Reports Campaigns, Structural Changes

Krosno: Disputes Easily Decided
26000380 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
17 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Krosno: Adopt Best Ways of Resolving Disputes"]

[Text] The new forms of work of party echelons have proved, it was stated at the plenum of the Krosno Voivodship PZPR Committee, very helpful in resolving many complaints and problems signalized in letters addressed to party echelons by the voivodship's population.

Introducing the principle of periodic training sessions for the commissions and teams for resolving complaints serves to adopt the optimal ways of resolving community

disputes. Unfortunately, it was said, not all local party echelons appreciate the importance of these actions and draw proper conclusions from the manifestations of social discontent, as they at times tolerate cronyism and bureaucracy in offices of state and economic administration.

Plock: Unsatisfactory Results Continue
26000380 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
17 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by (jas): "Plock: Exploring New Solutions"]

[Text] The plenary session of the Plock Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed on 16 February the proposals drafted by the voivodship reports conference. The many critical comments voiced during that discussion may be reduced to the general question of why, despite so many efforts made, are we failing or only partially succeeding in implementing the adopted tasks?

It was emphasized that the attempts at change made so far, being inconsistent and incomplete, have not produced the expected results. The situation somewhat worsened instead of improving in housing construction, trade, and services. Chaos and doubts pervade daily life and will be extremely difficult to overcome.

The speakers supported working out under the new coalition system a strategic development program that would indeed be consonant with social expectations. This requires far-reaching changes also within the party itself, along with a totally new style of work, because minor cosmetic improvements will not change anything. At some plants and factories, e.g., at the Plock Refinery, the basic party organizations already are trying to introduce new forms of party work consisting in, among other things, the formation of internal task groups and the cooperation of several basic party organizations in solving particular problems.

Rzeszow: Real Openness Needed
26000380 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
17 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Ryszard Zatorski: "Rzeszow: Deeds Instead of Declarations"]

[Text] Problems of changing the structures of the voivodship echelon and, in that context, party work, dominated the discussion at the plenary session of the Rzeszow Voivodship PZPR Committee on 16 February, prior to the voivodship reports conference which will be held on 4 March.

The party needs a genuine rather than verbal opening, chiefly toward young people, as stressed by Marian Skubisz, Voivodship Committee secretary, in his report preceding the discussion. At the same time he pointed

out that party members must display an aggressive stance so as to dominate by force of arguments the political struggle in a situation of pluralism.

There was no unanimity among discussants regarding the proposals for an experimental formation of rayon committees in selected areas. Given the niedosyt with the traditional forms of work, it was pointed out that new organizational structures should bring closer the social aktiv, and contact with the rank and file membership should also be livelier.

Zamosc: Rayon Committees Proposed
2600380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
17 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Jan Byra: "Zamosc: Closer to Local Organizations"]

[Text] "The activism of basic echelons affects the scope of influence of the entire party. How can then we be certain that the proposed changes will help strengthen local party organizations?" asked Jozef Fedec, a pensioner from Radecznica.

Structural changes within the Voivodship PZPR Committee and the implementing apparat have been long under consideration in Zamosc region, but a specific proposal was presented only recently, on 16 February at a plenary session of the Voivodship PZPR Committee. It provides for increasing to 12 from the current nine the number of problem-oriented commissions of the Committee and reducing to four from the present nine the number of the Committee's departments, as well as for establishing several rayon committees which should help make party work at the grassroots level more effective.

During the discussion, which was chaired by First Secretary of the Zamosc Voivodship PZPR Committee Marian Wysocki, anxiety was also voiced in connection with the tense atmosphere in the region's factories owing to the wage demands. Moreover, Waleria Galan of Krynice drew attention to the discontent of farmers due to, among other thing, the high taxes they have to pay.

During the plenary session the materials for the voivodship reports conference, to be held on 27 February, were confirmed.

Wloclawek: Culture's Role in Reform
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
18-19 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Marek Badtke: "Motivations for Cultural Growth"]

[Text] In Wloclawek members of the voivodship party committee discussed on 17 February the problems of the dissemination and growth of culture with representatives of the broad artistic community, including activists and salaried personnel in that domain. Previously party

members and nonparty people, concerned about the situation in that domain, had jointly prepared and discussed materials for the plenary session of the Voivodship PZPR Committee.

For it was acknowledged in Wloclawek Voivodship that it is precisely culture that can play a particularly important role in reforming the sociopolitical system and the economy. The lively discussion in the conference room of the voivodship committee demonstrated this. The speakers stated that it is precisely in difficult times that culture spurs disinterested motivations for socioeconomic activism.

The condition of cultural life is influenced by the results of the work of all activists. It is not without reason that Wloclawek Voivodship is among the most literate voivodships in this country.

"Let us in this country effectively strive to counteract the dangers currently menacing culture," said during the discussion Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Prof Marian Stepien. "Cultural interests, too, should be part of reforming our economy and sociopolitical system. Much depends on the individual initiative of those who succeed in rallying round themselves groups of people desirous of contributing something important to the intellectual domain of our life."

"In this respect," the PZPR Central Committee secretary continued, "it should be the party's ambition to make trouble for... the government. Insisting on cultural interests has a highly practical aspect, for it is reflected in enriching the personality and verifying the system of values."

During the second part of its deliberations the Voivodship PZPR Committee approved the materials for the voivodship reports conference, which will be held early in March.

The deliberations were attended by Director of the Culture Department under the PZPR Central Committee Tadeusz Sawic.

Jelenia Gora: Organizational Activism
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
20 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Jelenia Gora"]

[Text] The discussion of the materials for the coming voivodship reports conference on 18 February was the chief topic of the plenary session of the Jelenia Gora Voivodship PZPR Committee.

An integral part of the current reports campaign within the Jelenia Gora party organization has been, it was stated, the individual talks held with members of basic and branch party organizations. The course of these talks was greatly influenced by the discussion of theses at the

10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the text of its already known resolutions. It was stressed that the changes occurring at the enterprises in connection with the application of the economic reform require a change in the style of work of basic party organizations and greater activism of their members. Much attention was devoted to the issue of trade-union pluralism.

The plenary session accepted the documents and materials for the voivodship reports conference, which will be held on 6 March.

Krakow: Socioeconomic Issues
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
20 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Andrzej Gesing: "Krakow"]

[Text] Under the chairmanship of First Secretary of the Krakow Voivodship PZPR Committee Jozef Gajewicz the Committee examined and accepted on 18 February materials for the reports conference which will be held on 1 March.

The plenary discussion was combined with briefing on a broad range of socioeconomic subjects and on the party's situation and the commitment of its members. "The rapidly changing situation," Secretary of the Krakow Voivodship PZPR Committee Wladyslaw Kaczmarek declared, "requires refining the methods and style of action of the party so as to enhance its social prestige. Here in Krakow Voivodship no one in a position of responsibility has shirked political discussions which are fruiting in new concepts that allow for local realities."

The TRYBUNA LUDU reporter asked Prof Zygmunt Drzymala, one of the framers of the idea of utilizing Krakow science and technology within the so-called Krakow Special Economic Zone, to explain that idea.

Altogether, some 80,000 people are working for broadly understood science and technology in Krakow Voivodship, Prof Z. Drzymala stated. "In our voivodship we have 13 higher educational institutions, a resourceful branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 17 ministerial research institutes, and eight R&D centers. More than 1,500 professors lecture and work in the voivodship. However, the resulting effects are incommensurate with the existing possibilities. The establishment of the Krakow Special Economic Zone should tap the potential of creative and resourceful individuals who would set the tone of economic activity assuming the presence of a lively competition."

The plenum also stressed the disturbing decline in the admissions of young people into the party. On the other hand, the participation of youth in the managerial cadres of plants and factories was assessed positively.

Lublin: Local Decisionmaking Supported
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
20 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Ryszard Wolak: "Lublin"]

[Text] The plenary session of the Lublin Voivodship PZPR Committee which was held under the chairmanship of First Secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee Andrzej Springer on 18 February, continued its discussion of 9 January when priority was given to problems of housing construction which last year had markedly under-fulfilled its targets, as well as to market supplies and the attendant performance of trade and services, and also the aspects of preschool care for children. These problems also dominated the discussion during the second part of the plenum, on 18 February, when additional light on the subjects was shed by observations reported by six party teams which had toured other voivodships in order to gain experience in their solutions of these problems. Perhaps the most important conclusion ensuing from this discussion was the statement that many urgent matters can be successfully resolved locally, with the resources of the voivodship itself.

The "position" taken by the voivodship committee stresses the urgent need to provide in the voivodship qualitatively new conditions promoting the growth of housing construction and trade and services and an increase in the number of preschool vacancies. A major role in this is to be played by offices of state administration.

During its business part the session carried out structural changes ensuing from current and future tasks of the party. Nine problem-oriented commissions and two taskforces were formed. Four departments of the voivodship committee were disbanded and three special sections were created, namely: Political-Organizational, Ideology, and Education, Science, and Youth.

Siedlce: Structural Reorganization
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
20 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Jozef Sadowski: "Siedlce"]

[Text] The session of the Siedlce Voivodship PZPR Committee, chaired by First Secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee Andrzej Ornata, was held on 18 February with the object of examining the accomplishments of the voivodship party echelon midway during its term of office and adopting materials for the voivodship reports conference.

Much space in the discussion was devoted to problems of restructuring the voivodship committee. It was stressed that the related decisions should not be hasty, because the specificity of the region has to be taken into consideration. What might be good for other voivodships is not

necessarily good for Siedlce. Decisions should not be taken hastily just because restructuring is in the fashion. The solutions should be thought out.

The members of the plenum accepted the materials for the voivodship reports conference. They also took a position on the "round table" negotiations, stressing the need for specific solutions on behalf of Poland's future.

Gdansk: 'Daring' Solutions Necessary
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
21 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by (w.z.): "Gdansk"]

[Text] The party reports debate within the basic party elements and organizations revealed the complexity and multiplicity of the political and social problems whose resolution to meet the needs and expectations of the region's population demands of PZPR members greater boldness, innovativeness, and discipline in implementing the tasks, the participants in the discussion stressed.

Actions of this kind have not been neglected by the voivodship party organization. This is exemplified by its consistency in implementing the decisions of the field session of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, carrying out the "Gdansk in the Year 2000" Program, and recently providing the conditions—as part of the self-government and economic initiative in Gdansk—for broadening regional entrepreneurialism and economic independence.

The deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and First Secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee Marek Holdakowski.

The plenum accepted the materials for the voivodship reports conference, which will be held in Gdansk on 4 March.

Lodz: Program for Coming Term Studied
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
21 Feb 89 p 2

[Report: "Lodz"]

[Text] On 3 March the reports conference of the Lodz party organization will convene in order to sum up its performance since the last reports-elections conference and to work out a program for the remaining 2 years of the organization's term of office.

In this connection, a plenum of the Lodz Voivodship PZPR Committee was held on 20 February in order to consider the principal points of the report to be presented at that conference, along with program theses.

The deliberations were chaired by Voivodship Committee Secretary Elzbieta Wojcikowska-Ociepa.

Bialystok: Reports Campaign Prepared
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
24 Feb 89 p 4

[PAP report: "Bialystok"]

[Text] The plenary session of the Bialystok Voivodship PZPR Committee on 23 February was devoted to examining and accepting the materials for the voivodship reports conference. Previously, party organizations, delegates to the conference, and members of voivodship committee commissions had been consulted about these materials

Kielce: Departmental Reorganization
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
24 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by (wiac.): "Kielce"]

[Text] On 23 February was held in Kielce a plenary session of the Voivodship PZPR Committee devoted chiefly to discussing materials for the voivodship reports conference and organizational matters. The deliberations were chaired by First Secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee Jaroslaw Motyka.

The discussion focused on problems ensuing from the draft report to the coming voivodship reports conference. The plenum adopted a resolution on that conference and considered a proposal for an organizational restructuring of the Voivodship PZPR Committee. After some of the present problem-oriented commissions and departments of that Committee are disbanded, there will survive two Departments: Personnel Policy and Intra-party Management, along with 10 problem-oriented Committee commissions and two Committee taskforces: Worker Movement Activists and Political Consultation.

Slupsk: New Performance Model
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
24 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by (J. D.): "Slupsk"]

[Text] The Slupsk Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed problems of current party work ensuing from the reports campaign. The chief topic of deliberations was the new model of the party's operation in the voivodship.

The will to put an end to "paperpushing" based on the officialdom's principle, "The more pages the better the report," was expressed.

The voivodship committee accepted the concept of organizing a reports conference and holding discussion by four taskforces. It also approved the materials for that conference, which will be held on 4 March. Its deliberations were chaired by First Secretary of the Slupsk Voivodship PZPR Committee Ryszard J. Kurylczyk.

Koszalin: 'Experiment' Sanctioned
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
25-26 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Jan Urbanowicz: "Koszalin"]

[Text] The chief purpose of the session of the Koszalin Voivodship PZPR Committee was to approve the new structure of its bodies and of the party apparatus serving them, this being a result of the implementation of the so-called Koszalin Experiment which consists in the establishment of rayon and city-rayon party echelons. So far the Bialogard PZPR Committee and rayon party echelons in Drawsk and Swidnica have been established. These party echelons are taking over a substantive part of coordinating duties from the voivodship party committee. In this connection, the voivodship party committee has, upon the recommendation of its executive board, resolved to disband its previous 12 problem-oriented commissions and establish in their stead six new commissions and two taskforces. The new commissions and taskforces are headed by members of the executive board and secretariat of the voivodship committee.

Major changes also were carried out in the structure of the voivodship party apparatus. The Voivodship Committee disbanded six of its eight departments and established in their stead offices of Voivodship Committee secretaries as well as the Sociolegal and Personnel bureaus. The directors of the disbanded departments were appointed heads of the offices of Voivodship Committee secretaries, and at the same time they were appointed technical secretaries of discrete commissions. These changes are resulting in a 30-percent decrease in the number of salaried positions at the Voivodship Committee level. The personnel thus relieved will be reassigned to rayon committees.

Before the Voivodship Committee passed its resolution on restructuring the party apparatus at the Committee level, the anticipated functioning of the new structures was the subject of a lively discussion. Voivodship Committee members Miroslaw Breborowicz and Maciej Jabloniowski objected to the traditional practice of submitting materials for approval to Committee members at the last minute, without a thorough justification of the proposed changes.

The Voivodship Committee passed the resolution to restructure its apparatus with one nay and three abstentions. On the other hand, it passed by acclaim the resolution to convene on 3 March the voivodship reports conference and approved the substantive documents for that conference.

During the time given for new business the Voivodship Committee resolved by a show of hands, with 4 nays and 8 abstentions, to transmit to the PZPR Central Committee two recommendations submitted by Voivodship Committee member Janina Niedopytalska. The first

recommendation is in favor of establishing the office of the President of State and a second chamber of the Parliament, as well as of deciding on these recommendations by means of a referendum which could be held concomitantly with the coming elections to the Parliament. The second recommendation is in favor of establishing a student loan system to assist university students.

Leszno: Internal Changes Considered
26000380 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
25-26 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Leszno"]

[Text] The plenary session of the Leszno Voivodship PZPR Committee held on 24 February was devoted to approving the report materials prepared by the heads of the voivodship party echelon.

The discussions at the reports meetings held by more than 1,200 basic and branch party organizations revealed, among other things, belief in the necessity of structural changes as well as changes in the party's style of work. The point is, it was stated during the discussions, to strengthen the functions which genuinely promote the implementation of the party's political role: so that the party will be a party and not an institution duplicating other institutions, e.g., the state or economic administration. It was resolved to adapt the structure of party authorities in Leszno Voivodship, too, to this role.

In the resolution adopted toward the end of the deliberations, the members of the plenum approved the report for the voivodship reports conference.

Kuron Recalls Break With Party, KOR, Solidarity Activism

26000471a Warsaw *TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY* in Polish No 12, 19 Mar 89 pp 6-7

[Interview with Jacek Kuron, Solidarity activist, by Adam Kowalski: "The Road to Roundtable"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts]

[Passage omitted]

[TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY] It seems that the turning point in your ideological explorations was the year 1965 when, jointly with Karol Modzelewski, you wrote an open letter to the party.

[Kuron] It was not so much a letter as a little book in which we criticized the existing system in Marxist terms. We included in it quite a few pertinent comments, including a prediction of the rebellion in 1970 and of the cyclic crises and their mechanisms. Of course, we also

erred in, particularly, underestimating the nationalist problem, as well as in applying Marxist methodology, which really is not suited for analyses of socialism.

After writing that letter we were imprisoned, as we had expected besides. We emerged from prison as non-Marxists. Later there were the March [1970] events, which had been hatched with substantial participation of the young people rallied round us and termed "Commandos." After March, we were sentenced again. I had been sentenced many times over and altogether I stayed in prison for 9 years.

[TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY] What about the period of stability during the Gierek Administration?

[Kuron] It was then that groupings calling for democratic values had emerged. What is more there occurred rapprochement among various political orientations. March 1970 made it clear to us that the division into rightists and leftists is no longer topical. In the actual political struggle the division was of a completely different kind. To us, leftists, the fact that the government camp was of leftist origin yet promoted anti-Semitism was an absolute shock and caused the feeling of responsibility for Stalinism. To be sure, among us I alone had taken part in it but I could readily offer my age as an excuse, as my friends often suggested, but that is not the point. At the moment when I choose in favor of the left I have to consider all of it. If I want to feel proud of my leftist origin, I must feel ashamed of all that is criminal about the left.

This feeling of responsibility made us ask whether evil is an immanent element of the system of society. We arrived at the conclusion that the relativism characterizing the left harbors a trap. The most nightmarish and destructive example of moral relativism is Lenin's dictum that anything that serves the working class is moral, that the party knows best what is good for the working class, and that the party's leadership knows best what is good for the party. Hence our search for transcendent morality in the church in those times, a search that had not culminated in a great conversion. We accepted transcendence without God, and that is how I still feel about it.

That post-March crucible in which we kept up our discussions gave birth to the belief that the goal of our struggle should be parliamentarianism. Against this background arose a letter from 59 intellectuals and activists representing a declaration of democracy in which we view the role of trade unions as that of protecting the rights of workers, who in this state of ours are the principal objects of expropriation and disenfranchisement.

[TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY] The Committee for the Defense of Workers (KOR) began to struggle for these rights of workers. Your participation in the founding and activities of this Committee represents, I believe, an important chapter in your political biography.

[Kuron] Undoubtedly. The formation of the KOR was a major step forward on the Polish society's road toward emancipation and self-organization. We created a particular model of action and an independent press. The KOR was formed to carry out a highly specific job, after the Radom events which were followed by a huge wave of repressions executed so silently that even we, with our ear so close to the ground, had learned about them only 2 weeks afterward. And that was when the great drive for legal, material, and informational assistance began and was launched precisely by the KOR.

[TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY] In your opinion, why did the authorities refrain from smashing the Committee by jailing its members?

[Kuron] Consider the publicity that would result! After all, the authorities were trying to conceal their repressions. And suddenly they would have to jail some 15 or so persons, most of them well known? That would result in an unprecedented scandal and mobilization of public opinion. So they resolved rather to snuff us out by other methods—personal searches, interrogations, 48 hours [of detention], beatings by unknown assailants. When ultimately they adopted the last resort and jailed 15 most active members of the KOR, it was too late. We were too strong.

[TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY] Jan Jozef Lipski in his book on the KOR stated, "We were indispensable to the rise of Solidarity." But already as of August 1980 the KOR became, despite the huge role played by its members in forming that new mighty movement, a footnote in history. The activists of the KOR devoted their services to Solidarity. You too. And then the official propaganda created the image of the bloodthirsty Kuron.

[Kuron] At the very beginning of Solidarity, in September 1980 (!), I published an article in which I compared the functioning of our society to "train traffic controlled by a central timetable. If," I wrote, "every 10th train becomes self-governing, i.e., its time and direction of travel are determined by the passengers and crew, then a disaster is bound to happen if the old timetable still applies." Amusingly enough, that particular passage was cited in its entirety by the then First Secretary of the PZPR Stanislaw Kania, who concluded that I desired the disaster. But I was merely stating that the disaster is inevitable, because an independent self-governing trade union cannot operate in a centrally controlled system.

The rise of Solidarity within an unreformed and ossified system revealed in full the dichotomic division of the society into "us" and "them," that is, into the society and the authorities. For more than 40 years the alienation of citizens from the government, from "them," i.e., from those above us, was pursued. Someone told me that even Gomulka used to say "they."

The martial law exacerbated this division, because in war ["stan wojenny" means both martial law and state of war] the opposing sides hide themselves in trenches and no man's land runs between them. It is dangerous for an interloper to be in no man's land, because both sides try to shoot him down as soon as possible. A nation cannot live like that. Either there is a revolution, with one side seizing power—and that side could only be the society, because, as known, the authorities were incapable of dominating the society. Or some kind of accord is reached. At present we exist precisely at the moment of such radical changes. This no man's land has to be built up, covered with a multitude of mediating institutions. For years I have been repeating what I also said at the roundtable, namely, that the foundation of democracy is local democracy—local self-government, the association, the joint-stock company, the cooperative. This is the infrastructure of democracy.

[TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY] Prison had been an expected part of your life. But what about the round-table?

[Kuron] I had not imagined that I would ever be sitting at it. Prison, yes, I took that into account. At the roundtable someone said recently that 9 years of prison are bound to influence my thinking nowadays. But I do not feel bound by this kind of psychological influence. I have always been a free man and I have no grievance nor feel any anger toward anyone. By acting in a particular manner I anticipated the consequences of my actions. But while ceasing to be a communist I declared myself against the revolution. My position is that revolutions beget force, that an evolutionary process of changes is most proper. And because I always fought for democracy, I have always seen my adversaries not in prison cells but on parliamentary benches in the future order of society. Hence, in my political philosophy an event like the roundtable is most appropriate.

[TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY] Thank you for the interview.

Readers Express Doubts on Structure of New Association Law

26000422 Warsaw *KONFRONTACJE* in Polish
No 2, Feb 89 p 30

["Position Paper on the Draft Association Law"]

[Text] The freedom of association is one of the basic human rights. The state may regulate and eventually restrict the freedom of association only to the extent to which this complies with the free will of society. Only then, when the law on associations is the result of an unfettered civic decision, associations set up by virtue of it will indeed promote social initiative, the responsibility for their own fate, and that of others.

Independent public opinion has long demanded a revision of the 1932 law on associations. The existing legal status has provided a foundation for practices whereby the state administration has made arbitrary decisions on the formation of an association, and scrupulous supervision of the operation of those associations already formed restricted what is most valuable—social involvement.

Having analyzed the draft law on associations now being prepared, we question the degree to which it guarantees the abandonment of current practices, prevents the recurrence of old practices under the rule of the new law.

The draft association law includes several arrangements of which we approve. Primarily the following belong among them:

- 1) Transferring decisions on the setting up and operation of associations to the jurisdiction of general courts;
- 2) Bringing the principles of the draft into compliance with the International Pacts on Political and Civil Rights signed by the People's Republic of Poland in 1976;
- 3) Eliminating the "social benefit" clause;
- 4) Allowing economic operations by associations without the necessity of receiving a separate permit for them;
- 5) Expanding the opportunity for minors to participate in the activities of an association;
- 6) Recognizing the right of associations to belong to international organizations.

However, the draft law on associations also contains some features to which we object, and omits a number of issues which this law should regulate. Among them are primarily the following:

1) Granting to the court the power to reject the registration of an association when its goals or the methods of achieving them do not comply with "the existing legal order and principles of social coexistence" (article 17 in conjunction with article 1, paragraph 1 of the draft). We believe that the criteria mentioned in article 1, paragraph 2 of the draft may be the only grounds for rejecting the registration of an association because they are the only ones envisaged by the International Pacts on Political and Civil Rights. This is why we suggest that either article 1, paragraph 1 be deleted from the draft, or article 17 be tied only to article 1, paragraph 2;

2) We come out against granting to the Council of State the right to give to higher-purpose associations "the privilege of exclusive activities within a certain sphere" (article 32). In this manner, the Council of State would be able to eliminate the pluralism of associations from many important spheres of social life arbitrarily and forever;

3) We believe it is necessary to eliminate the form of higher-purpose associations and to preserve regular associations (article 9 of the draft) which do not require a registration procedure. We believe that the latter type of association should once again be the basic form of implementing the freedom of association in Poland. After all, the status of a corporate person which the association receives through court registration is not needed for an overwhelming majority of social initiatives;

4) Article 8 of the draft law should state unambiguously that the law does not regulate the issues of founding and activities of political organizations (e.g., political parties). We also believe that article 32 of the draft is unnecessary because a) the notion "organization" appears in it which may apply not only to associations, but also to parties. b) it contradicts the general principle of exclusive jurisdiction of general courts in the matters regulated by the law. If an agency of the state administration determines that a group of citizens is involved in activities as an association without meeting the requirements following from the provisions of this law, it may approach a competent general court with a petition to ban these activities. In that event, a decision in this very significant matter will be made by a court rather than the state administration;

5) We are in favor of granting to students the right for their associations to come under the jurisdiction of the new law on associations (article 44), and in favor of amending the law on physical culture associations and their unions allowing their free formation and activities;

6) We believe that the issue of whether farmers have a right to create socioprofessional organizations on the basis of the law on associations, or another law, should be resolved in keeping with the will of the farmers themselves;

7) We are against accepting the nontrial procedure for issues involving associations (article 31 of the draft). After all, accepting this procedure would mean that the courts would be able to rule on all issues essential for the existence and activities of an association through a procedure whereby a single judge rules in a closed-door session, without the participation of interested parties. In turn, the trial procedure we are advocating means that all court rulings will be made in open sessions, with the participation of interested parties, and by a panel of three judges;

8) We support the request that, in cases of a delay in making a decision on registering an association exceeding 3 months, the association be able to begin its activities (version II, article 18);

9) We are against giving the courts, as well as administrative agencies, the right to suspend the board of an association (article 28 of the draft). This would provide the most extensive opportunity for interfering in the internal affairs of the association;

10) Since appointing a commissioner amounts to a very painful legal measure we believe that, if article 29 is adopted, guarantees for the powers of commissioner need to be determined. The wording (article 29, paragraph 2) to the effect that "the commissioner represents the associations in matters involving assets in need of a speedy resolution" should be complemented by a clear statement that in matters not involving assets, and especially in those of the composition and program of the board, issues of membership, forms and methods of operation, the commissioner "cannot represent the association."

11) We support the request to place in the law "an article on nondiscrimination" (article 7) which states that "nobody will suffer negative consequences due to belonging to an association, or remaining unaffiliated with it." In light of past experience, it would amount to a much-needed declaration of intent in regard to the new practices affecting associations;

12) We suggest that a new article be included in the law which reads: "An association has the right to make statements in the form of resolutions and position papers on all public affairs which are a matter of social concern and address suggestions to state agencies, thus enjoying in this sphere the same rights which individual citizens are entitled to";

13) We suggest that in article 26, point 2 of the draft, subpoint 1 be deleted which allows the agency with oversight powers to "inspect all documents of the association at its quarters." A court ruling, or an administrative determination subject to the court control of lawfulness should be the basis for oversight proceedings. The powers of an oversight agency should be restricted to requesting that copies or excerpts from association documents be provided;

14) We believe that the law on associations should regulate the principles of financing the activities of associations from the state budget and budgets of territorial self-government, that is, determine the guidelines and criteria for providing subsidies, enumerate the agencies entitled to provide them, and indicate the procedure and guidelines for applications by associations for subsidies for their statutory activities;

15) Taxes and customs dues on donations to associations should be as low as possible.

Accomplishing the freedom of associations depends not only on the new law on associations but also on the freedom of assembly, speech, and publications, and an electoral system, [all of] which require new legal regulations.

Michał Boni, member of the board of the J. Strzelecki Club

Jerzy Ciemniewski, member of the Group "Reform and Democracy"

Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz, deputy chairman of the Club of Political Thought "Dziekania"

Damian Kalbacyk, deputy editor in chief of RES PUBLICA

Jan Kofman, editor in chief of the political quarterly KRYTYKA (published in "the second distribution system [unofficial publications—translator's note]")

Andrzej Kolakowski, member of the "Meritum" Group
Wojciech Lamentowicz, member of the Civic Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity Chairman

Maciej Letowski, secretary of the Christian-Democratic Club of Political Thought

Henryk Szlajfer, member of the Political Club '88

Ryszard Tyrski, member of the Group "Straightforwardly"

Warsaw, 26 January 1989

Press Restructuring: Renovating, Liquidating Titles

26000398 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
No 1, 7 Jan 89 p 5

[Interview with Romuald Surowiec, director, Wydawnictwo Wspolczesne Publishers, by Marek Nowicki: "Competition for Chief"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[POLITYKA] A group of journalists gets together and throws out its editor in chief. What do you say to this? I do not remember anything like this ever occurring.

[Surowiec] Neither do I, but I see nothing here that would make front-page news. At an open meeting of the editorial staff of TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY, in which the publishers' Plant Committee executive board took part, the newspaper and its boss were evaluated. The evaluation turned out to be unfavorable and the editorial staff in a secret vote expressed a vote of no-confidence in the editor in chief, who then resigned from his position and applied for retirement.

[POLITYKA] This is an old scenario: He retired for reasons of health. And what would have happened had he not resigned?

[Surowiec] The Plant Committee could then have withdrawn the party's endorsement and on this basis the publisher could have fired the editor in chief. But should the entire professional career of a person with 40 years of work in journalism, who had previously headed up various editorial staffs successfully, be shattered? In my opinion, no. An unfavorable evaluation of a weekly newspaper should lead to a change in the editor, and it did.

[POLITYKA] Had TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY been evaluated previously?

[Surowiec] There were three evaluations, all unfavorable. The management was given the task of bringing the newspaper out of the crisis, rebuilding the readership and reducing the number of unsold copies. Attempts to improve the situation failed, the circulation continued to drop, and the weekly's financial picture got worse.

[POLITYKA] Who, in our country, evaluates newspapers?

[Surowiec] First of all, the readers, by either buying the newspaper or not. Also the political overseer and the publisher. In the RSW "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House there is a special cell—Press Analyses Editorial Office (PAEO)—that analyzes and evaluates titles, authors, and political and propaganda campaigns.

[POLITYKA] I heard that these evaluations are quite biased.

[Surowiec] You heard wrong. PAEO has a group of distinguished specialists and journalism experts. Their analyses are known to those being evaluated, who can then defend their positions.

[POLITYKA] It was said that the new editor of TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY—a workers' self-management newspaper, would be selected by way of competition. But this did not happen. Why?

[Surowiec] Pursuant to the Press Law, the publisher appoints the editor in chief. But wanting to have someone to choose from, I requested the Sejm Commission on Self-Management Affairs, the PZPR CC Propaganda Department, the RSW Cadre Office, the Warsaw Chapter of SD, the PZPR Plant Committee Publishers, and the editorial staff, to submit their candidates.

[POLITYKA] Naturally, the Propaganda Department's candidate obtained the nomination.

[Surowiec] You are wrong. The Propaganda Department did not submit a candidate. To those who aspired to the job of head of the weekly, I presented complete documentation as to circulation, finances, etc., on the basis of which they were to present their vision of the newspaper.

[POLITYKA] But you have to agree that this was not a competition.

[Surowiec] In my opinion this was more democratic than a competition would have been, because I set only one condition: This was to be a journalist. We know very well that conditions can be set so as fit a specific candidate: He must be bald, wear glasses, be married, age such and such, etc.

[POLITYKA] Did the candidates set their conditions?

[Surowiec] There was no need for them to do so. The publishers give an editor in chief a free hand. He can change the newspaper's formula, its title, its format...

[POLITYKA] ...and maybe the staff also?

[Surowiec] Yes. Obviously, if the staff does not want this boss, then the editor in chief also has the right to choose his own colleagues, with whom he will work to save the newspaper.

[POLITYKA] *TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY* is not the only weak periodical in the publishing house. Can it be expected that other editorial staffs will follow the example of *TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY*?

[Surowiec] There are a few more periodicals which have been losing readers at a very rapid rate recently. The problem is that the editorial staffs have a very good opinion of their work and are looking for the reasons for the poor sales figures in places outside the editorial office, e.g., in the distribution of the newspaper.

[POLITYKA] Should not these newspapers be simply liquidated, as is being done of late with some enterprises?

[Surowiec] An editorial office is not an enterprise. However, a publishing house is, and it is bound by all of the rules of management, including self-financing.

[POLITYKA] The financial condition of "Wydawnictwo Wspolczesne" is quite poor.

[Surowiec] Not at all. We expect to end 1988 with a profit of over 600 million zlotys, although of the 43 titles published, only five show a profit.

[POLITYKA] *POLITYKA* supports itself and several others.

[Surowiec] Yes. *POLITYKA* is profitable, and so are *PRZYJACIOLKA*, *VETO*, *SEZAM* and *PRAWO I ZYCIE*. The fact that some newspapers are profitable and others are not is not the point. That is how it is throughout the world. The problem is the proportion of profitable to nonprofitable. But here the publishers have a restricted field for maneuver. The costs not under our control are constantly rising. The costs of paper and printing alone make up 73 percent of the entire cost, and in *PRZYJACIOLKA*, for example, this figure exceeds 92 percent, while the wage and honoraria fund is only 3.3 percent.

[POLITYKA] It is incredible that in the production of something such as a newspaper the share of the cost of "thinking" is 3 percent.

[Surowiec] I agree with you. This is the paradox of the publishing field. Huge increases in the cost of paper—30-40 percent at a time, several times a year, have

brought about a situation in which even such high-circulation periodicals as the 200,000-circulation *PERS-PEKTYWY*, or the formerly highly profitable *FORUM*, are being published at a loss..

[POLITYKA] Do you see any way out of this situation?

[Surowiec] If I did not I would not be the head of this publishing house. We are rescuing ourselves by issuing single publications, printed for the most part on recycled paper. In order to do this, we have set up a waste-paper reprocessing plant and a small job-shop printing plant. We are also distributing three titles ourselves. We will obtain almost one-third of our profits from additional activity. We are also working on establishing new high-income periodicals.

[POLITYKA] I find it incomprehensible that you are planning to publish new titles when many of the existing ones are not able to expand because of the shortage of paper.

[Surowiec] Those periodicals which the readers want most should be the first to be provided the conditions for an increase in their circulation. And we are doing this. In 1988, *POLITYKA*, *VETO*, and *PRAWO I ZYCIE*, increased their circulation. However, I do not agree with the opinion that new titles should not be created. The press offer should be adapted to the requirements of the readership market. Titles which lost readers should be eliminated and new ones should be put in their place. This thesis is confirmed by the readership and financial success of such new newspapers as *PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY*, *VETO*, *PAN*, and *REPORTER*.

[POLITYKA] Which periodicals, therefore, will you liquidate in the immediate future?

[Surowiec] Liquidation of a newspaper is the simplest solution, but is it the best? I believe that the weak periodicals should first be given an opportunity to improve their situation. Thus, we should begin with making the newspaper more attractive, improving its quality or changing its formula. Maybe increasing its staff or changing its editor in chief is sufficient. That is the opportunity that *TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY* is now receiving and I hope that it will take advantage of it.

[POLITYKA] Thank you for the interview.

Catholic Activist Ponders Political Scene After Roundtable

26000401 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish

No 9, 4 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Micewski, Catholic activist and publicist, author of books on Roman Dmowski, Cardinal Wyszyński, and the church and Solidarity: "Talks Upstairs and Strikes Downstairs"]

[Text] I am in complete agreement with Daniel Passent's opinion in the previous issue of *POLITYKA*, in which he very concisely summed up Poland's present situation:

"If the present situation continues, meaning that strikes downstairs and talks upstairs continue, then both may become exacerbated to the point of chaos." As a remedy, Passent proposes "a mighty alliance of the authorities, the church, and the opposition, which would combine their influence to prevent further outbreaks of discontent and provocations before the present efforts come to nought."

I doubt in the possibility of that remedy, because the modern post-Council [post-Vatican Council] Catholic Church is not active in politics and merely champions social-moral principles of public life. The church did contribute to setting up the roundtable and at present its proper role is that of an observer who at most intervenes in the defense of certain principles in the event of a crisis situation. I have already often offered the reminder that the Italian "historic compromise" applies to the Christian Democrats and the Communists, not to the church. Bishops, especially Polish ones, mindful of the bad experience of history, will not let themselves be led onto the slippery ground of political clericalism. They perceive the adversarial and prophetic function of the church in terms of social and moral norms and principles. Naturally, from these positions, the church has for years been appealing, and will of a certainty continue to appeal, for social tranquility in this country, viewing strikes as definitely a last resort.

One must unfortunately have the courage to declare openly that the fault for the discrepancy in the "upstairs" and "downstairs" situations belongs to the authorities, which had for years been drumming into the society that Solidarity wears the devil's horns, whereupon they sat down in concord for talks with it. The social elites quite rapidly understood this new policy, which is particularly warranted by the international situation, in the context of Gorbachev's perestroika and the growing crisis in Poland. But let us place ourselves in the shoes of the average citizen who must be quite surprised or disoriented by all this. This concerns in particular those who now are under a great social odium because they had built up the new [regime-sponsored OPZZ] trade union movement conceived as an alternative to the disbanded Solidarity. Besides, the present position taken by the OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance] is consonant with the views of a substantial segment of the ruling party.

I do not believe that the sole alternative to the present political alignment is "a nationalist and populist dictatorship whose international policy presupposes that Poland belongs to the Soviet bloc." This possibility was envisaged a couple of weeks ago by Jerzy Holzer. The existence in Poland of a nationalist trend is a fact which cannot be glossed over. But only a small segment of that grouping reflects extremist post-Moczar [Mieczyslaw Moczar, a national communist and former head of the Security Police] tendencies within the ruling circle, close to the views of Jedrzej or Maciej Giertych among the Catholics. The well-known Catholic-nationalist activist

Aleksander Hall is sitting at the roundtable. But as for others they were not invited, and I mean not only nationalists, owing to the rather exclusivist policy of the Citizens' Committee under Lech Walesa. Thus, not seated at the roundtable are Wieslaw Chrzanowski, the educator of young, moderate nationalists, and Jan Olszewski, who naturally leans more toward the democratic-leftist than the nationalist option. Other overlooked but deserving personages could be mentioned too. The uncoordinated and self-willed speech by Lawyer Sila-Nowicki at the first session of the roundtable was commented upon by Andrzej Wielowieyski with a typical nonchalance and rather insultingly. No mention was made of Antoni Macierewicz, who within the opposition represents a separate Christian-social option. In general, many young oppositionists were overlooked in order to pay homage to the luminaries of the opposition. I was generally "dubbed" an opponent of the opposition, because, not by my own wish, I found myself outside the "Znak" [Catholic Association], having worked for some time for a church periodical. I am being given the silent treatment. As known, Solidarity, too, has been disintegrating, and I am aware that it is difficult to reach an agreement with Gwiazda or Rulewski, but why is it that no one has taken the trouble to conciliate people like Jerzy Kropiwnicki of Lodz and many other like-minded people. It is obvious nowadays that the opposition-Solidarity side at the roundtable does not represent the entire society, even though it calls itself the side of the society. It must be moreover frankly stated that certain otherwise quite worthy elites have seized too much monopoly for themselves, thus creating the impression of a political bipolarity with the government in Poland. But this country's social reality is much more complicated. What is worst is that the intellectuals of the opposition are in the majority at the roundtable, stressing their domination over the minority of workers and their leaders, and this detracts from the importance of the discussions "upstairs" to many worker communities. The government must like that, because it knows what the oppositionist elites want, whereas its talks with ordinary workers would of a certainty be more difficult and less civil. In general, besides, the domination of advisers over activists in Solidarity is meeting with growing criticism. Of a certainty, certain members of the coalition-government [referring to the PZPR-ZSL-SD coalition] side also are eliciting strong criticism, for example, their grotesque spokesman.

I think that much can still be improved. Rapid action to reconsider and expand the membership of the roundtable with persons of authority in the society, especially among the workers, is still possible. This does not mean that I am questioning the fact that the liberal opposition, centered chiefly in the Citizens' Committee attached to Lech Walesa, the so-called lay left and Catholic left, is basically the principal opposition-Solidarity force, particularly in view of the symbolic position of Lech Walesa himself. The authorities are perfectly aware that they are reaching an agreement with one of the currently strongest groupings in Poland, a grouping moreover that

enjoys great publicity abroad. This calculation by the authorities seems to me quite justified. But it also seems to me that complementing the membership of the roundtable with representatives of constituencies of a more varied hues would be in the interest of the Citizens' Committee itself, considering that, unless the talks culminate in relatively rapid success, that Committee will forfeit part of its deserved and well-propagated authority.

That is one thing. Another relates to the OPZZ, which fears being shoved into nonexistence and is rapidly radicalizing itself. The only way out here is an agreement for some form of coexistence between the OPZZ and Solidarity in plants and factories. The OPZZ has to be convinced that it is not a poor relative at the roundtable. Lastly, there is a need for broad contact between the various forces seated at the "table" and the working masses. Hairsplitting debates in Warsaw will not suffice. Anyone who wishes to be not just an armchair politician but a trade unionist in the real meaning of the term, must work in the field with sweat on his brow. I fear that, although I hardly desire it, that HERE AND NOW fewer matters should be agreed upon in Warsaw—on of course assuring the possibility of future dialogue—and more time and energy should be devoted to persuading the broad social, worker, and laboring masses. Democracy, my dear sirs, means constant persuasion and conciliation of people. At present this is being done only by Lech Walesa, alone among the opposition.

In the meantime there has arisen the idea of a Christian Democratic party, and even the postulate that members of Solidarity should join it. I personally consider myself precisely a person with leftist-Christian Democratic views and believe that such a party will arise in the long run as the democratization continues. For the time being the government views this idea as creating *faits accomplis* and Solidarity as an attempt to create an alternative to it, or at least an alternative to the Citizens' Committee.

I believe that in the long term there will arise three principal premises for establishing the Christian Democratic party as part of the process of the formation of new political parties in general. The first premise would be a program whose planks would apply to the needs of Poland the conclusions ensuing from the social teachings of the church. These teachings support private ownership of means of production. Poland needs this kind of ownership. In many countries, e.g., in Austria, large unprofitable state-owned concerns are literally surrounded by smaller private companies which produce goods and render services that are not profitable to the industrial colossi. The private sector in Poland should not be a poor relative and an asylum for craftsmen and petty producers; instead it should be a necessary supplier in the economically most difficult domains. Creating such a situation would also result in implementing the second premise for the rise of a Christian Democratic movement, namely, the rise of a social base that, instead of being confrontational vis a vis the state sector, would complement that sector and act as an invaluable partner

and a factor in harmonizing the 3-sector [state, cooperative, private] model. Of course, this is only a sample program plank. The third premise for the rise of a Christian Democratic movement in Poland would be provided by the presence of mature and responsible adherents, of thousands of trained activists who would react maturely and responsibly in conflict situations and provide a guarantee that they would neither initiate social unrest nor coopt the extremist wing of Solidarity. I do not believe in forming a political party on the basis alone of appealing to lofty traditions or to the continuation of deserving movements from the past. No doubt, traditions are important, but a clear and topical socio-economic program, a substantive social base, and trained activists, are more important. I would support such a formula for a modern Polish Christian Democratic party. But that requires long and hard conceptual, social, and educational efforts rather than merely a continuation of the past.

I am deeply convinced that Christian-social ideas shall neither function in Poland as an alternative to Solidarity, nor be aimed against the socialized sector. Let me now revert to discussing the principal peril to the roundtable and to the need for at least a partial national accord in Poland. Let me begin by quoting a statement by Adam Michnik in one of his letters from prison. "Solidarity knew how to strike, but it did not know how to wait; it knew how to attack frontally, but it did not know how to retreat; it had general ideas, but it lacked a program timetable. It was a colossus on steel feet but with clay hands." By contrast, "The communist system in Poland was a colossus on clay feet but with steel hands." Let us pass over this latter effective but not very astute analogy between that socio-occupational movement and a state endowed with all, including military, attributes of power. What is of interest is the analogy between Michnik's assessment and our present situation. The Polish liberal-leftist opposition displays, I believe, all the good features of the former Solidarity. But it should be mindful of evolutionary aspirations and stage-by-stage objectives. Certainly, the roundtable is an opportunity that does not arise often. But one should consider that nowadays, unlike in 1981, the main opponent of Solidarity is not the party-state leadership but its own internal opposition and the second [regime-sponsored] trade union movement. It is not accidental that nowadays people in Poland speak, unofficially to be sure and referring to the long term, or even theoretically, of the possibility of the existence of two worker parties. For the time being, thank God, there is one "party" [the OPZZ] (for what kind of party would be that other one?), but it would do it no harm to engage in a dialogue with its oppositionist counterpart, and not only in the beam of television spotlights. Especially considering that Miodowicz [the head of the OPZZ] is strongly advocating this. At any rate I would prefer to see attempts at such a "trade union" dialogue than the alternative to the present political system in the form of a populist, though not necessarily also Endek [National Democratic, i.e., nationalist], dictatorship.

Time is being lost. The roundtable offers, as I wrote in GOSC NIEDZIELNY even before its opening, a difficult chance, precisely in view of the internal discord existing within both sides. We all must appreciate the importance of this problem, which nowadays is of a completely different nature than in 1981. In 1981 I had warned, and even now I am warning, not because I have some other, nonpublicistic aspirations but in the desire to persuade, that pluralism, democratization, and a major change in the system of society, a system that is yielding very reluctantly and only under pressure to the reform, are gigantic tasks. For in the meantime there may arise unexpected situations. That is why a maximum of deliberation and a broad social base and a minimum of political egocentrism are needed. We are a large and very diverse nation. We should make allowance for at least the principal aspects of this Polish diversity. Because not only parliamentary elections and the legalization of Solidarity will matter. These two measures have probably the best chance of being translated into reality. But real life will go on and of a certainty not one of the actually existing segments of the society will evaporate like camphor.

The reader may ask why is a Catholic publicist being published in POLITYKA? The answer is simple: I am published wherever I am welcomed and offered considerable freedom to express my views. Besides, failure to avail oneself of the considerable scope of freedom of speech in Poland would be stupid.

Bishops' Conference Communique, Election of Commission Chairmen

26000410 Krakow *TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY*
in Polish No 12, 19 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] The 233rd Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate was held in Warsaw on 7-9 March. The plenary session was preceded by a meeting of the main council, which prepared the agenda.

The meeting was conducted by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland. As usual, the meeting began with a prayer.

1. On the first and second day, the discussions concentrated on the legal bases which were to govern relations between the church and the state, and which constitute the premises for establishing relations between the Apostolic See and the Polish People's Republic.

The bishops familiarized themselves with the draft law on the relationship of the state to the church which had been negotiated by the editorial staff in the Joint Commission of the Representatives of the Government and the Episcopate. The text was read in its entirety and discussed. It was approved by a secret vote. It was decided that the draft is the basis for the continuous governing of relations between the state and the church

in Poland. The bishops expressed the conviction that it will be passed in its substantive form as negotiated and will remove the existing area of conflicts in church-state relations.

2. The bishops familiarized themselves with the status of the preparatory work for the Second Plenary Synod in Poland. Fifteen problem commissions were appointed whose task it will be to edit the drafts of the working documents intended for synodal reflection and discussion throughout the entire country. The commissions are composed of over 200 specialists from various fields of religious life. The commissions have already held their first meetings and prepared a list of topics with which they will be concerned. All of these topics pertain to reflections on the text of the teachings of the Second Vatican Council and its in-depth reception under the conditions of the life of the church in Poland before the one-thousandth anniversary of the martyr's death of St. Wojciech and at the threshold of the third millennium of Christianity. This also explains the theme of the synod: "With Vatican II's Proclamations Into the New Millennium."

3. In this extremely important moment in the contemporary history of Poland, the bishops considered the difficult matters of our fatherland. The roundtable talks, to which the church also contributed, should bring about far-reaching transformations in social, political and economic life. The effort made by the people who rose above the prejudices, animosities and wrongs which divided them, merits the respect of society. Even if it does not bring immediate results in all fields, it may open up a new opportunity for the country. For the first time in over 7 years, the possibility of entering on the path of real agreement has appeared.

The bishops are with these efforts in heart and prayer. They encourage the authorities to be bold and consistent in carrying out the changes which have been begun, and the broad circles of society to maturely use their restored civil rights.

4. The bishops, in considering the very immediate problems of responsible parenthood, familiarized themselves with the efforts of various social circles aimed at safeguarding the right to life and the physical integrity of every human being from the moment of conception all the way to death. These safeguards should attain constitutional status and conception should be afforded the protection of the law. Such a law, together with the rights of the family and the marriage, as a basic social institution, creates the basic moral values affecting the integral vision of the person and is an essential element of a civilized society and its organizations.

The values mentioned constitute a challenge to all people of good will who can contribute to the giving of due respect to life and love: to scholars and specialists in the field of medicine, to lawyers and politicians, to employees in the mass news media.

5. Auschwitz, which was the place of martyrdom of the sons and daughters of many nations, is exceptionally significant in the history and consciousness of the Polish nation. That is why the Polish bishops recognize the great importance of the Center for Information, Upbringing, Meetings and Prayer, implemented by the Krakow metropolitan, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, which will also include a new Carmelite Nuns cloister.

In accordance with the thought of Holy Father John Paul II, the Polish episcopate believes that the center now being set up will play an extremely important role in Christian-Jewish dialogue, in studies on the Nazi attempt at complete extermination of the Jews and the martyrdom of the Polish nation and other nations, in the upbringing of future generations, and in the attempts to bring religious freedom throughout the world.

6. Due to expiration of the term of offices and organizational structures, the conference of the Polish episcopate, pursuant to the conference statute as affirmed by the Holy See, in secret voting elected leaders and members of the episcopate commissions for a new 5-year term. Cardinal Jozef Glemp, archbishop for Warsaw and Gniezno and primate of Poland, was elected chairman of the conference of the episcopate of Poland. Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, archbishop and metropolitan for Krakow was elected vice-chairman. Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, auxiliary bishop for Warsaw, was elected general secretary. The following became members of the main council by election: Bishop Tadeusz Gocłowski, Gdansk prelate; Bishop Alfons Nossol, Opole prelate; Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk, Przemysl prelate; and Bishop Damian Zimon, Katowice prelate. The following became members of the main council by virtue of their office: Chairman of the episcopate conference Cardinal Jozef Glemp as chairman; Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, vice-chairman; Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz, metropolitan for Wroclaw; Archbishop Jerzy Stroba, metropolitan for Poznan; Archbishop Ablewicz, bishop for Tarnow; Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, general secretary of the episcopate conference; (the presidium of the episcopate conference is made of the the chairman, vice-chairman and the general secretary of the episcopate conference).

The conference also, by secret vote, elected two assistant general secretaries to the episcopate. They are: Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski, auxiliary bishop for Gniezno and Fr Alojzy Orszulik, SAC. Also, an auxiliary secretary for the conference episcopate was elected—Fr Dr Edward Sobieraj, FDP.

The conference elected chairmen and members to the scientific council of the Polish episcopate and episcopate commissions (see attachment).

On the third day, current pastoral matters of the church in Poland were discussed.

At the conclusion of the 3-day meeting, the bishops gave their pastoral blessing to everyone in our fatherland.

Warsaw, 9 March 1989

In fidem

Fr Alojzy Orszulik

Attachment

Chairmen of the Council and Commissions of the Polish Episcopate

Scientific Council of the Episcopate: Bishop Alfons Nossol, bishop for Opole
Commission on Matters of Catholic Teaching: Cardinal Franciszek Macharski
Biblical Subcommission: Bishop Kazimierz Romaniuk, auxiliary bishop for Warsaw
General Ministry Commission: Bishop Damian Zimon, bishop for Katowice
Subcommission on Ministry to Women: Bishop Mieczyslaw Jaworski, auxiliary bishop for Kielce
Commission on Liturgy: Bishop Tadeusz Rybak, auxiliary bishop for Wroclaw
Commission on Church Music: Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski, auxiliary bishop for Gniezno
Commission on Liturgical Service: Bishop Marian Dus, auxiliary bishop for Warsaw
Catechism Commission: Bishop Stanislaw Nowak, bishop for Czestochowa
Commission on Matters of Clergy: Bishop Paweł Socha, auxiliary bishop for Gorzow
Commission on Ministry to Families: Bishop Marian Przykucki, bishop for Chelmin
Commission on Ministry to Academics: Bishop Jozef Michalik, bishop for Gorzow
Commission on Ministry to Youth: Bishop Wladyslaw Bobowski, auxiliary bishop for Tarnow
Commission on Seminaries: Bishop Stanislaw Szymecki, bishop for Kielce
Commission on Charities: Bishop Czeslaw Domin, auxiliary bishop for Katowice
Commission on Secular Apostolateships: Cardinal Franciszek Macharski
Commission on Callings to the Ministry: Bishop Edward Materski, bishop for Sandomierz-Radom
Commission on Lublin Catholic University Matters: Cardinal Jozef Glemp
Commission on Convent Matters: Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, general secretary of the episcopate conference
Commission on Mass Media Matters: Bishop Adam Leka, auxiliary bishop for Lodz
Commission on Sobriety: Bishop Adam Odzimek, auxiliary bishop for Sandomierz-Radom
Commission on Catholic Publications: Bishop Juliusz Paetz, bishop for Lomza
Commission on Church Art: Bishop Wladyslaw Ziolek, bishop for Lodz
Commission on "Iustitia et Pax": Bishop Jan Nowak, auxiliary bishop for Gniezno

Commission on Missions: Bishop Edmund Piszcza, bishop for Warmia
Commission on Ecumenism: Bishop Alfons Nossol, bishop for Opole
Commission on Church Construction: Bishop Julian Wojtkowski, auxiliary bishop for Warmia
Commission on Ministry to Emigrants: Cardinal Jozef Glemp
Commission on Ministry to Tourists: Bishop Ryszard Karpinski, auxiliary bishop for Lublin
Commission on Dialogue With Nonbelievers: Bishop Bohdan Bejze, auxiliary bishop for Lodz
Commission on Ministry to Working People: Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz
Commission on Ministry to Farmers: Bishop Roman Andrzejewski, auxiliary bishop for Wloclawek
Commission on Ministry to People of the Sea: Bishop Tadeusz Goclawski, bishop for Gdansk
Commission on Church Law Code: Bishop Tadeusz Goclawski, bishop for Gdansk
Commission on Dialogue With Judaism: Bishop Henryk Muszynski, bishop for Wloclawek

Jagiellonian University Rector on February Student Strikes

*26000411b Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY
in Polish No 12, 19 Mar 89 p 6*

[Interview with Dr Aleksander Koj, rector, Jagiellonian University, by Jerzy Turowicz: "February at Jagiellonian University"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Mr Rector, there has been considerable publicity about the recent student demonstrations in Krakow. Could I ask you about the causes of these demonstrations?

[Dr Koj] The causes of the Krakow student events in mid-February are complex. In the last 2 years a mood of frustration has been growing among university students, since their career prospects are poor and the promised reforms are not producing results. This is compounded by the unsatisfied political aspirations of some students who cannot wait for the registration of the NZS [Independent Students' Association, Solidarity]. Another factor is certain unmet demands concerning curriculum reforms, especially those relating to the abandonment of reserve officers' training and so-called sociopolitical subjects [indoctrination courses]. In Krakow the growth of tension among young faculty members and students was additionally promoted by the severe beating of three assistant lecturers from the Institute of Polish Philology by perpetrators who have not been identified to this day. Nevertheless, the student rallies and demonstrations took place peacefully and without intervention by forces of order until 17 February when, already after a march near the Planty Gardens was over, the militia attacked the dispersing students. This caused further unrest during which bodily injuries were sustained by students and

militiamen. The dispersal of demonstrations and detention of several students resulted in the reprehensible prank of preventing the Minister of National Education from leaving the building of the Academic High School No 5 in Krakow where he was sojourning as a guest of the Rector of Jagiellonian University and the municipal authorities. This infringement of the personal freedom of the Minister, who could depart only after the detained students were released, was unanimously condemned by the Rector's Collegium and the Senate of Jagiellonian University, and disciplinary proceedings are under way against the culprits.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] How did events subsequently unfold?

[Dr Koj] Unfortunately, the student rallies and demonstrations were continued next week: on 21 February was held in Market Square a solidarity rally in support of the oppositionist Czechoslovak activist Vaclav Havel; on 23 February there was the so-called "happening" under the pretext of the 71st anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Army; and on 24 February there was a demonstration against the use of force by the militia a week previously. This time there were major street clashes, chiefly in the vicinity of Franciszkańska Street and Collegium Novum. The demonstrators pelted the militia with stones, and the forces of order used tear-gas grenades. One of these grenades broke a window and fell inside the auditorium of Jagiellonian University in Collegium Novum where at that time the Commission for Drafting the New Decree on Higher Education was holding a session in the neighboring Senate Room. Such are the paradoxes of our times. The participants in the clashes on that Friday included not only university students, because the list of 26 persons detained by the militia included eight students (of whom two were from Jagiellonian University and six from other higher educational institutions) but also 12 secondary and other school students and six workers.

To calm student unrest and confine the rallies to University territory, the Rector of Jagiellonian University asked the mayor of the city to isolate the area of Golebia and Jagiellonska streets as University territory. That request was immediately granted.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] It is said that television's reports on these events exacerbated the situation.

[Dr Koj] Unfortunately, the Sunday news broadcast presented the events of the previous week in a onesided and tendentious manner, confusing events on discrete days and placing special stress on blaming the administration and students of Jagiellonian University, as well as highlighting the anti-Soviet accents of the irresponsible happening of February 23. An extraordinary session of the Senate of Jagiellonian University was held on 27 February in the Senate Room of Collegium Novum, concomitantly with a demonstration of students who were protesting against both the use of force by the

militia the previous week and the tendentious presentation of the situation by the mass media. The students wanted to begin a 48-hour sit-in strike at Collegium Novum.

[*TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY*] How did the University authorities react?

[Dr Koj] In its unanimously adopted declaration the Senate condemned the anti-Soviet "happening" as an unexampled prank by youth demonstrating lack of elementary civility as well as of civic responsibility, but at the same time it supported Prorector S. Grodziski whose comments were distorted by the context and commentary of the television newscast. Following hours-long dramatic discussion with the participation of invited students and representatives of the NZS and the NSZZ Solidarity, and after speeches by the professors and the rector to the student demonstrators, only Prorector Grodziski's threat to resign prompted the students to abandon the sit-in strike and the proclamation of a 2-day withdrawal from classes. However, the tension among the students persists and the mass media are continuing their attacks at the University. Similarly, anonymous phone calls with threats against the University's authorities and students are continuing.

The circumstances and causes of the recent student events are being investigated by a special commission of Deans, appointed by the Senate, as well as by a disciplinary spokesman and a commission on the events of 17 and 23 February. The violence of the student protests is eliciting fears about future peace at higher educational institutions, unless there occur radical political and economic changes. But at the same time, many aspects of the February events in Krakow require elucidation, without which they cannot be objectively assessed.

There arises the question of who made the decision for such a drastic intervention by the forces of order after the demonstration on 17 February had already ended. Another question is why the militia did not intervene during the "happening" on 23 February when a group of youth interfered with traffic on Karmelicka Street and subsequently started a bonfire on Wolnosc Square, almost directly under the windows of militia buildings? During that incident the forces of order limited their response to filming its course so as to emphasize the anti-Soviet accents. What was the purpose of broadcasting on the national news channel a reprehensible but local "happening" on 23 February? Why was a stupid youth prank turned into an anti-Soviet affair on an international scale? To whom it mattered to detain by force Minister Fisiak at High School No 5, considering that the effects of his arrival in Krakow would be advantageous to the entire academic community? What is the real extent of the support by the silent majority of students of the well-known radicals carrying WiP [Freedom and Peace] and KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] banners? Why did Krakow television on 27 February report on the sit-in strike in Collegium

Novum during its evening newscast even though that strike had been scrapped and at that time Professor P. Sztompka was giving an open lecture in Collegium Novum? These questions could be multiplied and, until we have answers to them, our knowledge about the "February events in Krakow" will remain limited. And these events strangely resemble in some ways the so-called "March events" in 1968 and the so-called "Bydgoszcz provocation" in the spring of 1981.

All this prompts us toward more generalized reflections and self-questioning. What is the responsibility of the faculty for the conduct of students, who are adults and should be treated as individuals? Whence the aggressive or senseless behavior of students, so alien to our culture and University tradition? Is a consensus of the entire academic community possible in view of the existing political differences and the explicit generation gap in mentalities? How to maintain dialogue with all students without detriment to the supreme value represented by the good of the University? These are difficult questions, but we must find practical answers to them.

[*TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY*] Your Excellency Mr Rector, thank you for the interview.

Letter Questions Veracity of Statistics on Militia
*26000411a Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY
in Polish No 12, 19 Mar p 2*

[Letter to the editor by Andrzej Olszewski, Wroclaw: "How Many Militiamen in Warsaw (and in Poland)?"]

[Text] The entire Polish press has published the comment by Major Wojciech Garstka, the press spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MSW), elucidating the allegedly exaggerated demands for limiting the MSW's budget, presented at the roundtable by Janusz Onyszkiewicz. Maj W. Garstka provides many figures intended to show how scanty and inexpensive are the ranks of the militia. Two of these figures in particular have attracted my attention: 170 militiamen per 100,000 capita in Poland and 5.8 percent of all posts, overall, at the MSW being vacant. I compared these figures with those cited by Minister Urban at a recent press conference about personnel shortages in the militia. He reported that in Warsaw at present there is a shortage of 2,000 militiamen.

It is readily calculated from these figures that in Warsaw (assuming a population of 1,200,000) there should be 170×12 , ie. 2,040 militiamen. Since according to Minister Urban there is a shortage of 2,000, this means that only 40 militiamen are watching over the safety of the capital city, which is obviously an absurd figure ensuing from an uncritical application of statistics. In reality, if the militia in Warsaw is to function efficiently despite a personnel shortage of 2,000, that shortage should not, I believe, exceed 15 to 20 percent of the total. From this it ensues that the probable number of militiamen in the capital city is about 10,000, meaning that there are not

170 but about 830 militiamen per 100,000 capita. Incidentally, I recently came across a report that nationwide there is a personnel shortage of 17,000 at the MSW; if this is tantamount to the 5.8 percent reported by Maj Garstka, we can estimate the total numbers of personnel at the MSW at 280,000 to 300,000, which implies about 750-800 MSW functionaries per 100,000 capita. It may be that here I mixed up figures on different units of the MSW, but Solidarity's postulate to the roundtable refers to outlays by that entire ministry, and hence either Maj Garstka's arguments are not fair or the figures he presented refer only to a selected group of MSW personnel, or they are not veracious (if they refer to the entire personnel of that ministry).

At any rate, neither figure is commendable proof of the propaganda techniques practiced at the MSW.

Small-Scale Private Enterprises Opposed to Trade Union Activity

26000389 Poznan WPROST in Polish
No 10, 5 Mar 89 pp 12-13

[Article by Pawel Szpecht: "Without a Union"]

[Text] "Inasmuch as there exists the consent of the 7-million member strong trade unions and, surely, that of society as well for finding model solutions with regard to the Polish trade union movement, so the verification of the existing union structures is becoming increasingly stringent and based on the balancing of specifics and not declarations. It is in this way that union members must confirm their effectiveness and outright need to exist," it was stated recently at a meeting organized by the Poznan Voivodship Trade Union Accord. Such a desire to prove the necessity for the continued existence of unions by means of intensifying the forms of their functioning causes the hair to stand up on the heads of directors of state enterprises who will have to defend themselves against this "intensification." Thus, they are looking more and more frequently with envy in the direction of the private sector. New establishments which produce and multiply profits are constantly increasing whereas workers are not complaining despite the fact that no one there has heard of trade unions.

When 10 owners of Poznan-based companies were asked whether trade unions should exist in private enterprises, 6 answered "no" decisively, 3 were indifferent, and one replied: "Yes, but they are not necessary." Thus, in general, the existence of a union movement in the private sector is viewed reluctantly, although, at the same time all those questioned agreed that in large industrial plants, unions are needed and very necessary.

"Frankly speaking, the establishment of a trade union in our firm would be a real scourge," claims Ludwika Szpunar, the Poznan-based Interservice Foreign Enterprise owner's representative. This would be tied to the development of an additional, bureaucratic element—an unwanted element.

Ludwika Szpunar claims that the role of unions is fulfilled perfectly well by a company's management. Interservice does not employ much more over 50 workers. Therefore, contact with the small work force is not difficult. Controversial issues are taken care of directly with the director.

"If such handling of the issue is not satisfactory to the worker, he can always appeal to the State Work Inspectorate. In the heat of discussion on the model of the union movement, it is often forgotten that unions are not needed everywhere and that there are also other ways of protecting worker interests."

According to many private businessmen ["prywaciarsz"], the main sphere of activity for trade unions is the battle for wages. One craftsman, the owner of an establishment employing over 100 people, stated that since his workers earn a lot, trade unions in his work place are not needed. The opinion is similar among workers and supported, in addition, by experience in socialized establishments.

"For me, personally, trade unions have never secured anything," states one worker. "Union activists are isolated from the work force in large establishments just like the directors. In return for defending worker interests, which frequently comes down to the implementing of their own particular policies, unions require one thing: loyalty and marching in one union rank regardless of the members' individual views."

The foreign enterprise, Vikingpol, also is without a trade union. Jacek Gmurowski, the company owner's representative, explains: "It is true that the fundamental function of trade unions is caring for workers' wages. However, in the private sector, the labor market itself serves as a wage regulator. A better skilled worker is paid more."

Vikingpol does not provide any social benefits for its workers. Everyone should earn enough to provide for all needs himself. Last year, the average wages there came to 40,000 zloty monthly, although, some workers were able to make as much as 120,000. The enterprises' status does not arouse doubt as to its successful development. This is attested to by Vikingpol's rank as ninth on the list of exporters among foreign enterprises. For the time being, therefore, the company does not have to worry about someone stealing away its workers, although, J. Gmurowski admits that in the next 12 months, the situation could change significantly.

"Among 'lightweight' private enterprises," he states, "the battle for good skilled workers has been going on for a long time. However, new economic rules and regulations will place in motion a similar mechanism among the state-run 'insatiable demons' [moloch] as well. Young, talented people will then have more opportunities for finding well-paying jobs. Instead of prompting their own trade union at their place of work to exert

efforts for wage increases, they will rather concentrate their energy on looking for a better job. Trade unions will then become less necessary."

An owner of a private firm in the food sector: "Recently, I visited several enterprises in the west. Over there, trade unions are losing their significance everywhere you look; they are losing ground to the point of even agreeing to the lowering of workers' wages because there are unemployed people waiting outside the plant gates who will gladly agree to the lower wages. Therefore, union activists are trying to change their tactics. They are placing less emphasis on taking care of immediate wage issues and are becoming more involved in negotiations on minimum wages, work safety and protection of the economy as a whole. It seems to me that the trade unions here at home will also have to change their tactics soon."

The tradesman supports his claim with arguments. Many private enterprises will appear in Poland in the coming years. Things will become cramped on the market. Product competitiveness will have to be gained not only through their [product] higher quality but flexible price operations will become necessary. In such conditions, the private sector will have more chances because in state establishments, trade unions, which for the time being uphold the protection of real wages as their fundamental goal without giving consideration of an enterprise's situation, will not

permit, for example, the lowering of prices on products by reducing the wages of the work force. There will be conflicts, strikes will occur whereas private businessmen will have adapted their tactics to the new requirements of the market long before. And that is why, the tradesman, when it comes right down to it, has nothing against the existence of this "internal opposition" in the heart of the socialized sector.

The final reason for the dislike by private company owners of the trade union movement concerns social issues—one of the favorite "fields" of union activity. The majority of enterprises do not assure the work force a development system of social benefits. According to the business owners, it is demobilizing.

"The only thing that I give to the work force other than their salaries are [youth] summer camp supplements," states one of them. "The system of benefits employed thus far in state establishments discourages work because everyone who makes the least receives the most supplements and assistance. Under such conditions, work ceases to be worthwhile. I do not intend to lead my workers by the hand. If anything, I push them lightly with the possibility of making good wages. Such a system is clearer and more profitable for both sides. I believe that the introduction into this system of trade unions could only unsettle the current situation.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Agricultural Research, New Methods Increase Production

23000148a Moscow/East Berlin INTERNATIONALE AGRARINDUSTRIE ZEITSCHRIFT in German
No 1/1989 pp 1-4

[Article by GDR Minister for Agriculture, Forestry, and Foodstuffs Bruno Lietz : "Production Economics, Organization, and Management—Science and Practical Farming Equals Maximum Yield"]

[Text] With initiative, diligence and creative energy, the commune farmers, the workers and agricultural scientists in GDR agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry are realizing the two tightly intertwined goals of the comprehensive agricultural policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. These are "to systematically increase production and its effectiveness in order to insure a stable and continuously increasing supply of

highly valued goods for the populace and raw materials for industry; and to raise village living standards closer to those of the cities, and to overcome the considerable differences between the country and the city." In this they see their most important contribution towards realization of main policy adopted in the Eighth SED Party Congress in 1971 in the unity of economic and social policy which incorporates human rights at work just as it does social security for the citizens, equal education opportunities for all, and comprehensive social care for children as well as for work veterans.

The dynamic progress of our agriculture lies above all based in the ever more effective mastery of scientific-technical advances. In the constant promotion of close cooperation of science and farming practice, good experience is gained and noteworthy results are achieved. The fact that a completely new attitude towards science has developed with the communal farmers and workers, and that practical thought has been further shown by the scientists is an accomplishment that can only be achieved under socialist conditions. (Table 1)

Table 1. Trends in Education Levels of Full-Time Professionals in Agriculture

	1960	1970	1980	1987
Total full-time professionals	1,165,100	886,500	785,000	831,500
Percentage of trained technicians	8.0	57.6	89.0	91.0
Of which:				
College graduates	0.3	0.8	2.1	2.7
Technical college graduates	1.0	3.2	5.9	6.6
Trade masters	1.4	5.3	6.6	6.7
Vocational school graduates	5.3	48.3	74.4	75.0

SED Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the GDR Council of State Erich Honecker characterized this process at the Thirteenth GDR Farmers' Conference in May, 1987 as follows: "Science and technology have never played so large a role at any Farmers' Conference as they have at the Thirteenth. At no prior time have farmers worked so hand in hand with the scientists... commune farmers and workers have joined the scientists in the race against time. We would like to help them further accelerate that pace."

As basic elements of long-term social production, the 3,878 specialized agricultural production communes (LPG) and the 465 food processing factories (VEG) of the meatpacking and nonmeat foods industry provide a good foundation in the lasting form of comprehensive intensification. The increased strengthening of the LPG,

the realization of their individual responsibilities and the preservation of their juristic independence are contractually fixed from the beginning on. A characteristic trait of our agricultural policy is the enhanced cooperative relations between the specialized LPGs and VEGs of the meatpacking and nonmeat foods industry. This occurs to the mutual benefit of all partners on a voluntary basis. In this way, the potential of both forms of ownership, communal and socialized ownership, are exploited for the further growth in production and effectiveness. Especially through the systematic optimization of management, planning and accounting, including the agricultural price reform carried out in 1985, the vitality of our agricultural economy has grown from year to year. More than 90 percent of the basic foodstuffs for our population are prepared from domestic yields. This performance is also reflected in per capita consumption of foodstuffs (Table 2).

Table 2. Trends in Per Capita Consumption of Selected Foodstuffs

	1955	1960	1970	1980	1987
Meat and meat products (kg)	45	55	66.1	89.5	99.4
Eggs and egg products (each)	116	197	239	289	303
Butter (kg)	9.5	13.5	14.6	15.2	15.5
Whole milk (liter)	90.7	94.5	98.5	98.7	108.3
Regular and low-fat cheese (kg)	3	3.6	4.6	7.5	9.5
Potatoes (kg)	174.6	173.9	153.5	142.7	147.2
Vegetables (kg)	37	60.7	84.8	93.8	102
Fruit (kg)	21.8	57	55.5	71.1	58.8
Sugar and sugar products (kg)	27.4	29.3	34.4	40.6	40.7

In the further reconfiguration of social processes, we see a crucial basis for the constantly greater effectiveness of science and technology as well as commune farmer and worker creativity. One important guarantee alone for that is the college and technical school cadre of 75,000 in the agricultural companies. They are all primary sources of current and future growth in agricultural performance. "We know," as it states in the Thirteenth GDR Farmers' Congress Resolution, "that the mastery of scientific-technical revolution and its close association with the advantages of socialism are the central point of realization of economic strategy. With the dynamic development of productive forces, agriculture is becoming increasingly a branch of applied science." No other area of economic and social processes influences this so consistently as the development of key technologies. Their proportion and effect place not only enormous demands on the science of a country, but also at the same time on the development of a comprehensive interdisciplinary and international scientific cooperation. From that grow greater demands on the management process of state and economic organs.

Close Cooperation Bears Rich Fruit

With the Complex Program of Scientific-Technical Progress signed by the Comecon countries in 1986 for up until the year 2000, and the national program for research and development in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry, the switches are in place. The accomplishment of the tasks set by them create the prerequisites for the transition into agricultural production geared towards industry, which leads to fundamental changes in the entire agricultural reproduction process with the utilization of scientifically based mechanical, chemical, electronic and biological supplies and technologies. In this manner, modern science and technology paired with the knowledge and ability of the communal farmers and workers become the striking factor for current and future growth in production and effectiveness.

Experience confirms that the ever-improved mastery of operations in the soil, plants and animals as well as technical and economic processes is increasingly demands support by the application of biotechnology

and microelectronics. Based on the program described above, numerous bilateral and multilateral agreements were signed on cooperation in science, technology and production in the areas of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry. They serve in particular in the application of the accomplishments of biotechnology just as the exploitation and introduction of electronic systems. The scientific facilities of our country make their specific contribution towards the realization of the goals.

The key technologies play a decisive role in the lasting formation of comprehensive intensification in our country. This concerns, of course, increasing the production of plant and animal products per acre more quickly than the expense of labor and materials increase. In this process of intensification (economizing), we always consider economy and ecology as one.

The themes of cooperation in which the GDR participates are numerous, such as the development and testing of computer-aided management of land and inventory, the development of models for agricultural ecosystems and for means of rationalization and automation of processes. The most significant segment belongs to microelectronic solutions even in such fields of the complex program as the development of production control systems for cattle and pork production and for livestock breeding. In the close cooperation of science and practical application, computer-aided land and inventory management (COBB) were developed in the targeted complex implementation of scientific-technical advances. With that, we are pursuing the goal of gaining control over the earth's fertility and guiding the development of crop yields from seeding to harvest so that the usable potential yield, according to fertile and local conditions, is exploited to the maximum amount. In this manner, large stable yields are being targeted. Currently in the GDR, there is annually about 618,000 acres of land in agricultural production.

The great efforts in preparation of the subject "automation of plant production" offer further evidence. The demands are marked out for use of the new on-board computer system in tilling, seeding, fertilizing, care and harvesting. The computer system from the Combine for

Agricultural Equipment "Fortschritt" Neustadt forms the basis for this. Our experience shows: Utilization of the on-board computer system on a combine harvester enables a 15-percent reduction in fuel consumption and reduction in grain loss to under one percent.

The field of microelectronics application extends far beyond that and includes processes of production preparation, management, surveillance and direction. And so there are currently 2,900 CAD/CAM stations in GDR agriculture. 3,200 microcomputers form their computational-technical base, of which 1,500 are effective in grain and animal production. Solid intimacy with the computer belongs to the farmer today, whether young or old. To encourage that, training centers have been in operation at agricultural and gardening centers for some time.

A point of emphasis in the application of microelectronics is the gradual development of multistaged computer-aided information systems. Our experiences show that with it, management activities are generally streamlined, administrative expenses are reduced and that operations and flexibility in the management process are improved. The system of computer-aided land and inventory management was tested in 26 LPGs and VEGs for plant production under normal production conditions. These production experiments gave the result that annual yield increases of two to three percent could be attained. Beginning in the fall tilling season of 1988, it will be introduced into broad application.

In association with the computer-aided land and inventory management system, an information and consulting system "Plant Protection" will also be introduced. With it comes a computer-supported model crop pest and crop condition monitor for more than 80 different crop pests. On this basis, corresponding to each actual infection situation, measures to combat it are optimized and the LPG and VEG plant disease agriculturalists are given scientific recommendations for the most effective use of pest controls. Similar experiences also come from the forestry business with the "Forest Reserves" database. With it, all locale and vegetation information through to forest health is contained.

Yet another computer-aided system for management of plant production is the "Irrigation Information, Version 2" [Berechnungsberatung 2. Generation] computer program. This was developed jointly by scientific institutions in the GDR and the USSR. The recommendations from the program for the utilization of irrigation equipment provide effective watering to preserve yields with large dry substance. This program, which considers 96 types of fruits and 190 varieties of cultivation, enables specific irrigation recommendations within 15 to 20 minutes.

In the field of animal production, through the utilization of microelectronics in process development for milk production facilities, the first results are coming regarding incremental automation—the computer supported

Production, Control and Management System (PKS). With it, it is possible to better control the biological and technical processes. In accordance with our conditions, we are concentrating on best-production feed, particularly in the use of raw feed. In addition, partially-automated milking is a considerable part in the increase of work productivity with PKS. Through the utilization of milking machinery and machinery retractor robots, one work position in the milking area is saved per shift while at the same time there is an improvement in working conditions.

Biotechnology Gains New Territory

Great value is placed in the scientific-technical cooperation for the tasks in development and application of biotechnology. They are especially directed towards:

- The further acceleration of breeding advances in agricultural and forestry crop plantings and livestock, including effective reproduction by means of biotechnological base technologies, particularly cell and genetics technology; —The targeted influencing of ground biological activities for the increase of ground fertility bound nitrogen gas and the creation of biological plant pest protectors;
- The increased scientific processing of the complexes of technologies in genetics, enzymes and immunology, and their application in the diagnosis and combatting of plant illnesses and in the application of veterinary medicine.

A top-ranking task in the cooperation with Comecon countries is the application of various biotechnological methods for the development of more powerful breeds. They should be characterized by a large potential for yields, greater resistance and improved application qualities. In accordance with common concerns, there is intensive work in the breeding laboratories in the GDR and the other Comecon countries on the creation of new strains for varieties and hybrids in grain, potatoes, sugar beets, feed grain—especially corn, and fruit and vegetables.

On the basis of the "Nitrogen-Binding Microorganisms for Agricultural Cultures" procedure, the GDR actively participates in the creation of effective root treatments for the recovery of biological nitrogen gas in symbiosis with leguminous plants. For example, in the GDR in 1988 about 320,000 acres of leguminous land was given root treatments. The yield increases from that averaged between five and seven percent. In further cooperative work, new forms of ground microorganisms with increased capacity for binding nitrogen gas is planned on the basis of developed genetics technology based manipulation, and on this foundation in turn the production of considerably more effective root treatments. There is particularly close cooperation here between facilities from the GDR, the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

The scientific-technical cooperation on the basis of direct relations has proven itself in the area of biotechnical research in livestock production. The joint work between the USSR Research Institute for Breeding and Genetics of Agricultural Livestock in Leningrad-Pushkin and the Research Center for Livestock Production in Dummerstorf-Rostock is exemplary. Occasion for this work is, for example, further joint development of embryonic transfer to increase production levels and breeding advances in cattle production, and in addition the exploitation of methods and principles for genetic improvements in agricultural livestock under the application of molecular-genetic and genetic-technical knowledge. The joint research is also directed towards work in *in vitro* growth and fertilization of cattle ova and towards the creation of transgenic animals. Research collectives from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland are also participating in the search for solutions to these tasks.

Combine Veterinary Immunology Dessau works in the field of veterinary medicine with the partner institutions in the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria towards development of vaccines on a genetics-technical basis. And so dry nutrients for cell and virus breeding are being tested by the USSR Research Institute for Experimental Veterinary Medicine Moscow and by us. With Czechoslovakia, possibilities for application of the ELISA tests in diagnosis of current viral and bacterial infections is being tested. In the context of the comprehensive project for "Creation and Cooperative Production of Veterinary Medical Preparations for Prophylaxis and Combatting Foot-and-Mouth Disease," the GDR provides the diagnostic preparations and delivers the necessary SUMAL systems.

There are also numerous results and proposals in the foodstuffs industry. And so the Milk Industry Scientific Technical Business Center (WTOZ) in Oranienburg maintains close direct relations with the USSR Milk Industry Research and Project Institute in Moscow with the goal of testing the use of membrane technology for the production of curds. A higher product quality as well as the utilization of all the protein contained in milk for human sustenance will be possible with this new process.

Further Development of Scientific Cooperation

What knowledge can we gain in the completion of the tasks of the complex program?

The main themes of the complex affecting our field of work, biotechnology and electronification, are solid components of the GDR State Plan for Science and Technology for the 1986-90 period. They are at the same time anchored in the plans of the combines, factories and scientific institutions, above all the Academy of Agricultural Science, which are all under the Minister for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs. It is a main point of management activity with the combine general directors and the factory and scientific institution directors.

The collegium of the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs continually deals with the results and problems arising from the fulfillment of the tasks in the complex program. Multiple impulses come from these discussions. Concrete decisions are made concerning for accelerated development of broad application of key technologies in production. Along with that, great value is placed in the further building of scientific cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist brother countries through the signing of agreements and treaties.

We also highly value the common discussions and multifaceted consultations of the scientific institutions. From them develop the important motivators for acceleration of the execution of agreements from the Sixth Joint Conference of the Presidia from the GDR Academy of Agricultural Science and the V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Science of the USSR in October, 1987.

As the result of focused efforts with the partner facilities and institutions in the socialist brother countries on up to 60 subjects, 51 two-party or multiparty treaties and agreements for the realization of appropriate tasks of the complex program were signed, and with that according to our ability, the goals for the 1986-90 period are established. At the same time, the estimation coming from the 44th Comecon Conference was observed. It stated that the pace of work in the complex program of scientific-technical advance of the Comecon member countries is not yet sufficient, but that in the interest of a focused and high priority practical solution of tasks, the members must concentrate on the points of emphasis and not permit a scattering of personnel and funds. The GDR will also continue to undertake all efforts to effectively use the available research potential through scientific cooperation with the socialist brother countries, and to seek optimum results for rapid introduction into production.

Scientific-Technical Progress—Challenge for All

The close proximity of theory and practice motivates to a great measure the accomplishment of peak performances by our scientists. It is at once a demand and a prerequisite to quickly transfer peak performances with great efficiency within short periods of time into production. This especially applies to key technologies in their close association with traditional scientific fields.

The chosen path of research and development economy proves itself. The formation of economic relations between science and production proves itself to be an effective element of their ever-closer association. This process also includes the fact that the communes and factories are more and more the object of scientific research. Their leaders and specialists at the same time themselves yield scientific results. Peak yield and peak output experiments, which are the last phase of research and the first phase of transfer (into practical application) are already cited proof.

The tasks and forms of cooperation between science and practice towards the goal of increasing yields and outputs and their effectiveness are anchored in the long term development concepts of the LPGs and the VEGs. To support this creative work, sections and work groups for science and technology have shown themselves to be useful in the communes and factories. We travel these new ways with the Agreement on Coordination and Contracts between scientific institutions and agricultural factories, which includes payment for scientific work by the LPG and the VEG.

One element of work recognized by the farmers is performed by the scientific-technical centers at the Bezirk councils. They assist the agricultural factories in the application of new scientific discoveries and operational solutions.

Whether in research, in transference, or in production—overall, engaged youth make their contribution. It is noteworthy that experienced scientists and young people, researchers just as students, managers just as specialists all receive common tasks, to bring new things to light and make them useful in practice. In the almost 1,000 FDJ [Free German Youth] Young Researcher collectives, in which young scientists, farmers and workers produce notable results together under appropriate technical guidance, we see a significant potential. With such interesting fields of activity, we encourage youth and require them to make their contribution as the masters of tomorrow.

HUNGARY

Debt Mismanagement: Past Leadership, Politburo Blamed

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in Hungarian 18 Mar 89 pp 62-63

[Interview with PPF (Popular People's Front) team economist Laszlo Bogar, by Julia Gati: "The Plundering of Resources Did Not Begin With Foreign Indebtedness"; date and place not given]

[Text] For many long years Hungary's convertible currency indebtedness was classified as top secret. By now we are aware of the figures, even though there are differences in opinion as to the basis to which the magnitude of the debt should be compared, so that one could obtain a realistic picture of the weight that burdens the country. Similarly, no public and fully satisfactory accounting has been provided as to the purposes for which a large part of the debt was spent, and as to the persons who made decisions in regard to the utilization of funds. We asked economist Laszlo Bogar (age 38) to tell us how the debt evolved and how large it is, and for how long it will represent a burden to all of us. Bogar was a member of the PPF working group recruited by Imre Pozsgay in those days.

[HVG] The convertible currency indebtedness of the country treated as a state secret in earlier days, was made public in 1987. It shocked quite a few people. The surprise manifested by the majority which obtains its information only from the Hungarian press is understandable, because previously these people were unable to obtain such information. But something else is not understandable. According to the then prime minister and party executive secretary, learning of these facts had the effect of a cold shower also on him. Do you think it is possible that the present, highest level leadership of the country learned of the actual extent of the country's indebtedness at the same time as the public did?

[Bogar] That is simply out of question! It is totally inconceivable that the members of the MSZMP Politburo would not have known the figures, and not only the figures but the contexts hidden behind those figures. If, however, let's assume, this was not the case, then this serious question arises: who managed the country and how?

[HVG] I hoped that you would be able to answer this question. My hope was based on the fact that you were a member of the PPF team of economists established by Imre Pozsgay, accordingly, you are an insider. I believe though, that neither did you have accurate figures concerning this convertible currency indebtedness which was discretely managed and was classified as a state secret.

[Bogar] One could read different figures in various places. The foreign and domestic economic press is aware of a more or less 17 billion dollar debt. The differences have their origin among other matters in the exchange rate one uses in calculating the debt which was incurred in various foreign currencies. I still do not have a current authentic figure, but at the same time it is not essential for everyone to have calculations which correspond to the last penny. Far more important is a recognition of how this indebtedness affects the capability of the Hungarian economy to perform.

[HVG] During the past months it appeared that each individual chose a comparative base according to his own goals and interests. Janos Fekete, the past deputy president of the Hungarian National Bank for instance tried to acquiesce those concerned by saying that the installment payments and debt service related to the convertible currency indebtedness are tolerable as compared to the total value of Hungarian exports.

[Bogar] Counting it this way, the situation seems more favorable indeed than it actually is. Except for the fact that it is obvious that debts incurred in convertible currency cannot be paid in rubles. Although it is true that during the past several years the method of "nonruble settlement" has acquired extraordinary significance in trading with socialist countries, one must recognize that such settlements constitute only a smaller portion of the total socialist export trade. It is a fact that after 1980,

during the years when the trade balance was positive, this was to be credited to a dollar surplus derived primarily from socialist trade, and not from capitalist trade. I still believe though that it is more realistic to consider a debt service rate which relates installment payments and interest due in a given year to the size of capitalist exports.

[HVG] Not too long ago this subject was taught in economics courses at Hungarian universities as follows: The obligation to repay credits should not exceed 20 percent of the exports, or 25 percent in a critical case. Should we now request that they repay us the tuition, or, and this is more appropriate under the circumstances, should we once again put a scientific truth into mothballs?

[Bogar] The view according to which the ratio you mentioned is desirable continues unchanged, except for the fact that reality has transcended this view. According to official calculations, last year the debt service rate amounted to about 60 percent. Hungary today is one of the big debtor nations of the world, because it provides 3.5 thousandth of global production, and 4.2 thousandth of global exports, while it holds 12.1 thousandth of the world's indebtedness. Perhaps this is not known publicly either: On a per capita basis Hungary is first in indebtedness among CEMA countries, leaving even Poland behind.

[HVG] The bottom line of our indebtedness is frequently downplayed by emphasizing that they owe us too, and that we too have accounts receivable. Do you know who owes us, and how much money is involved? Have you heard that these debtors are far from being as scrupulous as we are in paying installments on time?

[Bogar] In my estimate we are talking about 4-5 billion dollars. Not only the citizens, but even the representatives in Parliament do not know what countries, what terms, what currencies are involved. Needless to say, it is difficult to expect a society to make new sacrifices as long as matters like these are not clarified.

[HVG] Shall I understand this to mean that even at this date the country's borrowing and credit policies are not under professional and social control? I realize of course that the timing, purposes and methods of borrowing should not be subject to the results of a popular referendum. But then, who should control the banking sphere and how?

[Bogar] First of all, in this field too it should be recognized that centralized economic organization is less efficient in the long term than a decentralized form. To put it in layman's terms: In my view, the National Bank monopoly over foreign exchange should not be maintained. There should be a market also in this area, and let the market decide whether the investment of a given sum of money was appropriate, whether it produced profits. Quite naturally, along with all this a state and political institutional system for control must be established, so

that members of the cabinet may hold banks accountable. And of course Parliament should be able to hold accountable the cabinet in this respect, and so should the Accounting Office to be established.

[HVG] The process of "holding accountable" should perhaps begin with this question: for what purpose were more than 10 billion dollars spent over the past decade and a half? Namely, the explanation by which the economic and political leadership tries to arouse a national guilt feeling, i.e. that we, ourselves spent most of the money has not been proven by anyone on a factual basis!

[Bogar] One may assume that the reason for this is that the facts would prove the opposite. Just one or two bits of data: while between 1950 and 1990 the gross domestic product increased sixfold, consumption only quadrupled. Similarly, it is not particularly difficult to figure out that only about one tenth of the convertible currency credits was allocated for consumption. It is true, however, that during the past decade and a half the political leadership did not burden the consumer with the economic deficit of the system, thus buying its domestic stability. Accordingly, if we turn around the cause and effect, it indeed may seem as if the country consumed, lived up the capital attracted from abroad.

[HVG] Well, those quite a few billion dollars had to be spent somewhere, yet that spending hardly shows. Were at least the experts able to learn what those big investments which consumed the money were?

[Bogar] The plundering of resources did not begin with our foreign indebtedness. Forced industrialization, the establishment of heavy industry, heavy machine industry took place to the detriment of agriculture, of the infrastructure and of "human reproduction." In my view, this self-consuming strategy would have prompted foreign indebtedness as of the early 1970's even if simultaneously there would not have occurred a global structural change, a commercial exchange rate deterioration which was unfavorable to Hungary. Yet, the moneys borrowed at that time began, among other purposes, the financing of the petrochemical program. In that period some new large industrial enterprises received significant investment capital from foreign creditors, among others the iron foundry industry and steel manufacturing, but some of these investments were made for so-called prestige investment purposes, the so called green field factory constructions, which were unfounded in every respect, and were extremely expensive. These investments siphoned away the future resources of the country for many years ahead.

[HVG] And now the "for how long" question. In what foreseeable time frame and with what burdens must the country bear the consequences of what we discussed?

[Bogar] My starting point is that a drastic reduction of imports is not a passable way. If I consider the fact that

exports must increase annually by 5 percent, and imports by 1 percent, the result is that the indebtedness process will come to a halt in 1997, and that the debt service rate will end in the year 2004, i.e. it will reach acceptable

levels after 30 years from the beginning of our indebtedness. As a result of such unprecedented peacetime plundering, the domestic use of the national income could be hardly more than it was in 1975!

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